Karczma/Taberna: Public Houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty

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KARCZMA/TABERNA: PUBLIC HOUSES IN CRACOW DURING THE JAGIELLONIAN DYNASTY

by

Peter Paul Dobek

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History Western Michigan University December 2019

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Peter Paul Dobek
Public houses—insns, taverns, and alehouses—during the Jagiellonian Dynasty (1385-1572) in the city of Cracow and its immediate surroundings functioned as important establishments in the everyday life of the city. While the city continued to grow and prosper as the preferred residence of the dynasty, inhabitants, travelers, and migrants increasingly relied on the public houses of the conurbation to meet their many needs and desires. Although scholars have studied these establishments throughout Europe during various epochs, they have neglected to analyze the public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian era.

This study provides a comprehensive examination of a multitude of sources, including records of court cases, municipal accounting, building inspections, royal decrees, tax accounts, university litigation, personal correspondence, and literary sources, to reconstruct qualitatively and quantitatively the public houses of the city. This reconstruction reveals public houses' role in the history of the city, their locations, edifices, related activities, and people, including publicans, clients, and others. The study places the establishments of Cracow at the center of a deeply debated topic about the extent and types of violence in public houses, which further addresses their many functions. Contrary to what has been suggested by some of the contemporary accounts and some current secondary literature, the establishments were fundamental to the everyday life of the city and they were not centers of nefarious acts.
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Maps

Map 1: The specific locations of public houses according to the earliest recorded date based on the work of Adam Chmiel in *Domy Krakowskie*.

1 Maps created by Jason Glatz, Western Michigan University Libraries Mapping Service. Adapted from Waldemar Komorowski’s *Średniowieczne Domy Krakowskie*. 
Map 2: The number of publicans on a given street from April 25, 1557 to April 17, 1558 according to the *Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum*.


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Cracowian Weights and Measures in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Length:

1 Ell = 58.6 cm
1 Foot = 29.3 cm

Volume:

1 Achtel or Octuale = 16 l
1 Pitel = 8 l

Weight:

1 Cetnar = 63 kg
1 Stone = 12.6 kg
1 Wiardunek = 0.049 kg
1 Pound = 0.39 kg

Monetary:

1 Grzywna = 198 g of silver
1 Grzywna = 48 Grosze
1 Ferton = .25 Grzywna
1 Kopa = 60 Grosze
1 Grosz = 12 Denars
1 Zloty = 30 Grosze
1 Ducat or Florin = 1.5 Zloty
1 Szeląg = 1.3 g of copper
Introduction

Public houses—inns, taverns, and alehouses—during the Jagiellonian Dynasty (1385-1572) in the city of Cracow and its immediate surroundings, functioned as important establishments in the everyday life of the city. The inns, taverns, and alehouses provided numerous vital services to both the inhabitants and to visitors of the conurbation. Cracow’s growth as one of the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social centers of the Polish lands under the Jagiellonians increased the importance of the establishments and these developments directly and indirectly influenced the success of the public houses. The rulers of the city realized the value of such locales and sought to benefit from the enterprises. The city itself even owned various public houses throughout the municipality, most notably the alehouse in the townhall—The Piwnica Świdnicka. The public houses, the publicans, the patrons, and the clients however, could also be a source of consternation, but the nefarious acts were rare and usually did not involve violence.

The designations “public house” and “publican” are specialized and umbrella terms used to denote a specific group of establishments and people. Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty have defined “public houses” as institutions regularly selling alcohol for consumption on publicly accessible premises.¹ Inns, taverns, alehouses, and less commonly, cellars and warehouses were the locales that purveyed alcohol in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty and fall under this definition. The publicans were the individuals who maintained and sold alcohol from the public houses in the city. The publicans often owned the public house from which they worked, but not always. Public houses offered additional services, but not all provided the same amenities and alcohol is the unifying factor among these locales. Other enterprises offering alcohol on their

Scholarship on Public Houses in Europe during the Medieval and Early Modern Periods

Scholarship on public houses and their various manifestations throughout Europe during the medieval and early modern periods has expanded from economic and political studies into cultural and societal analyses during the last two decades. Beat Kümin and B. Ann Tlusty believe that the most productive recent scholarship on public houses has focused on various fields: “travel and trade infrastructure, sociability and communication, the social and cultural history of alcohol, early modern crime, gender, and even popular religion.”² They do, however, acknowledge that much of this research has tended to exclude eastern, northern, and southern Europe.³ In The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe, Kümin, Tlusty, and other contributing authors use written, material, and archaeological evidence to explore these fields and many others in order to provide “a forum for comparative approaches” on public houses around Europe.⁴ Although the work draws attention to Central Europe and other less-studied places, it does not analyze public houses in Poland. Many of the analyses also deal with time periods much later than the Jagiellonian Age. The editors have divided the compilation into three parts: 1) publicans and patrons, 2) legal framework, sources, and military culture, and 3) case studies, including the central Alpine region, the Swiss territories, Russia, and England.⁵

² Kümin and Tlusty, The World of the Tavern, 5.
³ Kümin and Tlusty, The World of the Tavern, 7.
⁴ Kümin and Tlusty, The World of the Tavern, 6.
⁵ Kümin and Tlusty, The World of the Tavern, 7.
Kümin and Tlusty argue that the works as a whole demonstrate the economic importance of public houses, rulers’ attempts to control the institutions, a location’s role in a communication network, consumer preferences, and the tension between the supposed private and public spheres.⁶

Various works with geographic focuses outside of Poland examine important issues dealing with public houses during the medieval and early modern periods. Peter Clark’s *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1800* provides the first comprehensive examination of the social implications of “victualing houses,” with an emphasis on alehouses, such as the effectiveness of governmental controls, the role of women, and the shifting demographic of clientele, thus moving scholars beyond economic or political histories of the institutions.⁷ Recent studies, however, have shown that sources do not support his suggestions that there was a “gradual proletarization or masculinization” of inn patrons in the early modern period.⁸ B. Ann Tlusty’s *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* provides a valuable cultural study of, and raises important issues on, public houses in Augsburg, such as the role of honor during social drinking among males.⁹ Tlusty’s “detailed look at cultural drinking practices” allows her to conclude that “drinking bouts, tavern brawls, and convivial toasts,” provided “accepted, even necessary” opportunities for publicly displaying one’s honor and status.¹⁰ In *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe*, Beat Kümin uses registers, legislation, tax records, literary sources, and visual records to

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¹⁰ Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order*, 1-10.
analyze public houses as a “cultural profile of the most prominent communication spaces in early modern localities” mostly in the City Republic of Bern and the Principality of Bavaria and argues that public houses “evolved into institutional foundations of European communities and experienced their ‘golden age’ in the early modern period.”\textsuperscript{11} The four-volume \textit{Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800} provides a comprehensive source collection for public houses in France (Vol. 1), the Holy Roman Empire (Vol. 2 & 3), and the United States (Vol. 4).\textsuperscript{12} The compilation, \textit{Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe}, offers essays on travel throughout Europe and the institutions, which travelers utilized, including inns, brothels, hospitals, etc.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Polish Historiography of Public Houses}

Polish historiography treats public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty cursorily or not at all. Bohdan Baranowski, considers public houses in medieval Cracow, but his work functions only as a brief overview of the establishments from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{14} The chapter “Taverns of the Middle Ages” (“Średniowieczne Taberny”) consists of only five pages dedicated to the origins of public houses in Poland, taverners, beer and mead production, propination privileges, and the physical edifices.\textsuperscript{15} The chapter, however, oversimplifies the functions of public houses and does not examine important roles of the establishments, such as in the everyday life of the conurbation or in nefarious acts. The subsequent chapter “Taverns, Inns, and Guest Houses in the XVI-XVIII Centuries” (“Karczmy,  

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} Kumin, \textit{Drinking Matters}, 1-5.
\textsuperscript{13} Thomas Betteridge, ed., \textit{Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe} (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).
\textsuperscript{15} Baranowski, \textit{Polska Karczma}, 5-11.
\end{flushleft}
Małgorzata Chorowska and Czesław Lasota rely heavily on archaeological evidence to examine public houses in the present-day southwestern Polish town of Świdnica from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. The focus of their work, nevertheless, is on town houses (kamienice), which at times, acted as places for brewing and selling beer. The beer brewed in Świdnica earned a reputation as some of the finest in Central Europe and Cracow regularly imported the alcohol. During the Jagiellonian Dynasty, however, the town was not part of the Polish lands—becoming a part of the Kingdom of Bohemia at the end of the fourteenth century and subsequently, part of the Habsburg lands in 1526.

Józef Burszta employs Marxist methodology to examine the role of taverns in the rural Polish lands from the seventeenth century. Burszta’s agenda is to show that taverns were an important location for the “difficult class struggle” between “the stronger and the weaker.” He argues that internal psychological and external struggles forced peasants into finding consolation in the tavern. This was mainly the result of the propination laws or the mandatory purchasing of a specified amount of alcohol from the lord’s tavern under the “feudal socioeconomic system” beyond the larger cities. Burszta argues that the “feudal socioeconomic system” gave lords a “monopoly of propination,” which offered the lord the sole privilege to produce and sell
alcohol.\textsuperscript{21} By the eighteenth century, taverns provided lords with their easiest source of income and the lords exploited this fully.\textsuperscript{22} Laws ensuring a “monopoly of propination,” however, only began to appear in the sixteenth century and did not pertain to cities, like Cracow, because city privileges and laws governed the sale of alcohol within their jurisdiction.

The work of Stanisław Kutrzeba, “Beer in Medieval Cracow” [“Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie”] is an important work on the beer in the city and useful for examining public houses in Cracow.\textsuperscript{23} Although his main purpose is to examine the role of beer in medieval Cracow, he also briefly discusses public houses in the city, particularly, the alehouse in the town hall (the Piwnica Świdnicka). The focus of his article is the economics of the beer industry and trade in the city from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. To do so, he extensively looks at the financial records of the city to scrutinize the income and the costs generated by beer for the city. His \textit{The Finances and Trade of Medieval Cracow} [\textit{Finanse i Handel Średniowiecznego Krakowa}] looks at the economics of medieval Cracow and provides useful information relevant to the public houses in the city as well.\textsuperscript{24}

The Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to reconstruct qualitatively and quantitatively the public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Age. Where other places have longer traditions of examining public houses, Poland does not and therefore, this work must first establish basic information about the locales, the publicans, and the interaction of different socioeconomic groups with the enterprises. The Polish historiography scrutinizing the public houses of the city

\textsuperscript{21} Burszta, \textit{Wieś i Karczma}, 20.
\textsuperscript{22} Burszta, \textit{Wieś i Karczma}, 200.
\textsuperscript{23} Stanisław Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie” [Beer in Medieval Cracow”], \textit{Rocznik Krakowski} 1, (1898).
\textsuperscript{24} Kutrzeba, \textit{Finanse i Handel}.
and describing these aspects is inadequate. A significant part of the reconstruction is to contribute to the field of research on public houses in medieval and early modern Europe by introducing the establishments in Cracow to a deeply debated topic: the extent and types of violence in public houses. Understanding the setting and characters of the violent episodes allows for a better understanding of the situations. This context enables one to conclude that public houses in the city of Cracow were not exceptionally violent establishments, as has been suggested by some of the contemporary accounts and some current secondary literature, but instead, functioned as important political, social, economic, religious, cultural, and academic centers for Cracowian society on a daily basis without violent incidents. The most significant problem facing the public houses, the publicans, the patrons, and clients was in fact, debt. This study is the first work of many, which will later expand the known information on public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty.

Poland has not yet received the same amount of scholarly attention by anglophones as other places in Europe and this has largely been due to the linguistic barrier posed by the Polish language. Polish scholars, however, have been contributing their findings in English to correct this problem. In an effort to make this study and its information more accessible to the reader, the dissertation employs commonly accepted English names, words, and place appellations wherever possible, for example, Cracow for the Polish Kraków. In addition to the English terms, the dissertation provides the native designation whenever a person, place, or thing appears for the first time to encourage understanding. Wherever there is not a commonly accepted English label, the dissertation uses the native words connected to the modern nationality.

Cracow during the Jagiellonian Age is the focus of this dissertation for various reasons. Poland entered its Złoty Wiek or Golden Age during the reign of the Jagiellonian Dynasty—
ultimately, extending its influence from the Baltic Sea to the Black and Adriatic Seas, and in the process, becoming a key player in this region. As a major urban center of this expansive territory, Cracow increasingly became a nexus for social, political, cultural, religious, economic, and intellectual activities. As the city—a favored residence of the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties—continued to grow and prosper, it attracted travelers and migrants from every level of society from as far west as England and as far east as present-day Russia, who, lacking permanent accommodations, turned to public houses in order to meet their needs. Public houses in Cracow acted not only as places for weary travelers to rest and replenish, but also as locations for cultural pursuits, social interaction, political debate, education, communication, student recreation, feasts, the black market, alcohol consumption, violence, swindling, and much more. They attracted individuals from all social groups within the conurbation, including nobles, students, merchants, prostitutes, travelers, tourists, artists, writers, Jews, and various others.

Cracow’s prominence among Polish cities and the king’s presence also ensured that documentation was an important part of the bureaucracy therein. Despite the many catastrophes of Cracowian and Polish history, a portion of the documentary evidence, which reveals much information on public houses in the city, has survived intact. Thus, public houses and the sources referring to the locales offer a lens through which scholars can view a glimpse of society in Cracow during this important epoch. The dissertation focuses predominantly on Cracow within its city walls and only when appropriate, looks at Kazimierz and Kleparz, the two satellite towns of the conurbation, and the surrounding area. Cracow heavily influenced the two settlements, but they functioned independently on many matters.

The city’s past was intimately linked with the history of the Jagiellonian Dynasty. The nobility of the Polish lands successfully negotiated terms in 1385 with Jogaila (Jagiello), the
Grand Duke of Lithuania, to give him shared sovereignty over the Polish kingdom by marrying the eleven-year-old ruler of Poland, Jadwiga or Hedwig of Anjou, in exchange for the unification of the Polish lands with the Lithuanian lands and his acceptance of Western Christianity for his people. One of the key goals of the negotiations was to create a polity capable of opposing the Teutonic Order in the north along the Baltic coast. The union established the Jagiellonian Dynasty and proved successful, but the struggle against the Order would occupy all the Jagiellonian kings. Władysław III of Varna (Władysław III Warneńczyk), acceded to the Polish crown at the age of ten upon the death of his father, but his reign did not last long. On November 10, 1444, the king lost his life while fighting the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Varna. His brother, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Casimir IV Jagiellon (Kazimierz IV Andrzej Jagiellończyk), ascended to the throne of the Polish kingdom with the agreement of the nobles in 1447. Casimir ruled prosperously for forty-five years and died on June 7, 1492. Casimir’s third son, Jan I Olbracht, assumed the throne in 1492; and upon his death in 1501, Casimir’s fourth son, Alexander I Jagiellon (Aleksander Jagiellończyk), inherited the throne and ruled until his death on August 19, 1506. Under the reign of the final two Jagiellonian Dynasts—Zygmunt I the Old (Zygmunt I Stary) and Zygmunt II Augustus (Zygmunt II August)—Cracow and the Polish lands reached their apogee and Golden Age. During this time, Cracow flourished as one of the main political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social centers of a large and prosperous kingdom. The reign of Zygmunt August, however, also marked the beginning of the decline of the conurbation.

The Resources

Cracow is also unique for a study on public houses because of the availability of sources. The sheer amount of resources relevant to public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Age
surpasses the abilities of any single researcher and for that reason, this work utilizes the most important sources on the subject. Examining additional sources will undoubtedly reveal more information on the subject matter. That is, however, beyond the realm of this dissertation and will need to wait for subsequent works.

The terminology of the primary sources when referring to public houses and publicans is not always clear and the documents often used terms interchangeably. Within the same resource, a place or an individual may receive multiple designations and this complicates determining the exact nature of the establishment or the person. The resources most commonly designate a tavern with the Latin taberna and the Polish karczma or tawerna, an inn with the Latin hospitium or deversorium and the Polish zajazd or gospoda, and an alehouse with the Latin celarium and the Polish piwnica. The sources employ the Latin tabernator or tabernatrix, the Polish karczmarz or karczmarka, and the German Kreczmer for taverner, the Latin caupo or caupona and the Polish gospodarz or gospodyni for an innkeeper, and the Latin pincerna or vini pincerna, the Polish szynkarz or szynkarka, and the German Birschenke for a publican and a wine or beer publican. The sources may also refer to a publican who brewed beer as a braxator and one that malted grain as a braseator. The dissertation uses the specific term in the instances where the sources refer to a particular establishment, an explicit type of enterprise, or a definitive individual. When the sources are not clear on a given locale or person, the dissertation uses the designation public house and publican to generally refer to those places and people.

A comprehensive examination of the multitude of records allows for a qualitative and quantitative reconstruction of the public houses of Cracow during the medieval and early modern eras. The collection known as the Acts of the City of Cracow (Akta Miasta Krakowa) is one of the most extensive resources revealing information about the public houses of the conurbation.
The *Acts* is a large and varied collection, which includes records of court cases, municipal accounting, building inspections, royal decrees, tax accounts, and various others from the time period. The most significant source of the *Acts* for this study is the collection of court cases overseen by the burgomaster known as the *Registrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* or the *Advocatalia Cracoviensia* or in Polish, the *Księgi Wójtowskie Krakowskie*. It consists of court cases for the city and its inhabitants that deal with accusations, debts, fights, prostitution, testaments, and many other issues. The burgomaster (*wójt*) of the city and his councilors (*ławnicy*) summoned accusers and defendants from different parts of the city to the town hall (*ratusz*), where the court proceedings took place. A scribe recorded the court proceedings and these were later compiled into books known as the *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*. The scribes organized the court proceedings chronologically and by the street of the litigants, and this makes it possible to narrow down the location of public houses of a given neighborhood and to know more about the activities and infractions of the area.

There are approximately 140 books—from 1442 to 1600—of the *Advocatalia* relevant to the Jagiellonian Dynasty. Scholars have edited and published the oldest extant records covering 1442-1443; however, the remaining books are unedited and unpublished.25 The source material in its original form has created linguistic and paleographic challenges for scholars because it is in Latin, Polish, German, or an amalgamation of these languages and often written in a nearly illegible script. Bożena Wyrozumska has described the difficulty of examining these sources:

> The scribes of the Cracow chancellery were not conscientious workers, writing hastily, making mistakes, and adding words in the margins or between the lines. This is especially true for the mode of keeping the wój’s records; the handwriting here is hardly...
legible, with a large number of untypical abbreviations. The mediaeval acts of the city of Cracow are not provided with any aids in the form of indexes. 26 Despite the difficulty in working with this source, it provides invaluable information on public houses and relevant matters, such as the extent and types of violence involving publicans and patrons.

A second source that is part of the Acts of the City of Cracow and vital to the reconstruction of public houses and the assessment of violence in Cracow is known as the Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg). 27 The collection contains material from the years 1360 to 1422 and deals with the most serious infractions affecting the city, such as physical violence, verbal violence, homicide, rape, theft, fraud, adultery, and various others. The authorities deemed these violations to be the most critical threats to Cracowian society and they therefore, warranted proscription, that is, banishment from the city permanently or for a determined length of time, or execution, usually by beheading.

The tax revenue records known as the Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum provide a third invaluable set of resources from the Acts of the City. The extant records relevant to the Jagiellonian Dynasty include the years: 1557-1558, 1565-1566, 1567-1568, 1569-1570, 1570-1571, 1576, 1577-1578, 1578-1579, 1580, and 1581-1582. 28 A city official visited the public houses throughout the city to collect levies on

publicans who brewed beer. The official registered the excises in an accounting book covering approximately one year organized by city streets. The levying of these taxes did not occur on an annual basis, but only when the Sejm (diet) agreed to the king’s demands to institute them because the majority of the money supported the royal coffers.\(^{29}\) When the city implemented the taxation measures, the city officials visited publicans usually biweekly and assessed the amount of beer brewed in that time. The number of barrels of beer brewed by the publicans determined the amount of remuneration owed to the city and king.

The Acts of the City of Cracow also contains a collection of city engineering records that are essential to reconstructing the physical edifices known as the Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones or the Księga Wiertelnicz Krakowska.\(^{30}\) The extant records encompass the years 1568 to 1591. The Quartaliensium Recognitiones are a compilation of inspection accounts of engineers or inspectors (wiertelnicy or capitanei quartalienses) visiting various buildings throughout the city for various reasons, especially for real estate sales, matters of inheritance, and property disputes. The engineering records describe the edifice and the plot and explain the repairs that the building needed. In matters of inheritance, the engineers divided the building equally among the heirs and provided guidelines for amicable living situations.

The University of Cracow, later, the Jagiellonian University, court records known as the Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis provide a third set of legal proceedings that are essential to this study.\(^{31}\) The founding charter of the university granted by Casimir III the

\(^{29}\) Stanisław Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel Średniowiecznego Krakowa [Finance and Trade of Medieval Krakow] (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), 87.


\(^{31}\) Władislaus Wisiłocki, ed., Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno 1469 (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Craoviensis, 1893); Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis, ed.
Great on May 12, 1364 and reaffirmed and modified by Władysław Jagiello gave the institution jurisdiction over matters concerning its members. One of the many obligations of the rector was to uphold the rights, privileges, and regulations of the university and to carry out justice whenever infractions occurred. The faculty and students regularly violated the directives of the university and the legislation regarding their transgressions composes the *Acta Rectoralia*. Extant records of the *Acta Rectoralia* span the years 1469 to 1580 and involve matters, such as debt, violence, theft, defamation, and various others.

Royal decrees and city edicts supplement the court records by offering a different perspective on public houses. These statutes encompass various legal issues, including regulations for making and selling alcohol, guild rights and obligations, alcohol importation guidelines, taxation measures, laws, and dispute resolutions. The majority of the acts regard matters of finances and rarely legislate against physical and verbal violence in public houses. The kings often reaffirmed the royal edicts of their predecessors, but also implemented new policies when the situation dictated as did the city officials. The work of Bartłomiej Groicki helps support these proclamations because in the sixteenth century he created an updated compendium and guidebook of legal codes within the city to assist the residents therein to navigate the complexities of the legislation.32

Chronicles also provide an important resource for this study. The Polish diplomat and chronicler, Jan Długosz (1415-1480), offers different insight into the functions of public houses in Cracow during the reigns of Władysław III of Varna (1424-1444) and Casimir IV Jagiellon

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(1427-1492). His *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland* (*Annales seu Cronici Incliti Regni Poloniae*) offers an account of more than 500 years of Polish and European history based on archival material from the perspective of a valued member of the king’s court. The *Annales* offers a glimpse into the political, social, academic, religious, and cultural developments of different socioeconomic levels of society, which include their utilization of public houses. In addition to his chronicle, Długosz’s *Book of the Benefices of the Diocese of Cracow* (*Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*) provides a register created from 1470 to 1480 of benefices, benefactors, properties, and privileges of the Diocese of Cracow.33 Public houses appear throughout the inventories as valuable pieces of property with important privileges. The Polish Church wanted to create an inventory of its properties in order to maximize its profits.

The leading intellectuals of the Jagiellonian Dynasty also frequented public houses throughout Cracow and composed various works to praise and immortalize their experiences or to criticize the establishments. Individuals, such as Mikołaj Rej (1505-1569) and Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584) provided accounts from a literary perspective, which praised public houses. In the sixteenth century, the literati of Cracow also formed a group known as the Guzzlers and Gobblers (*Bibones et Commedones*) in order to celebrate life by frequenting public houses. The group consisted of some of the most renown figures—both men and women—of Cracowian society, such as Karybut Koszyrski (d. 1528), Andrzej Krzycki (1482-1537), Katarzyna Kościelecka (ca. 1480-1528), and many others. Its members met at public houses, “gained inspiration” through the consumption of alcohol, raised hell throughout the city, and later, recounted their alcohol-fueled encounters at public houses and in literature. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572), a prominent intellectual of the sixteenth century, however, viewed

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public houses in a different light and composed his “Customs” of the *On the Reform of the Republic (De Republica Emendanda)* to criticize the perceived ills of Cracowian and Polish society during the Jagiellonian reign, including the evils of such establishments. Stanislaw of Skarbimierz (*Stanislaus de Scarbimiria*) (1360–1431), a doctor of canon law and the first rector of the reestablished Jagiellonian University in 1400, was likewise a strong opponent of public houses and made his sentiments clear in many of his writings.

The diplomatic and friendly correspondence of the sixteenth-century intellectual and envoy Ioannes Dantiscus (*Jan Dantyszek*) (1485–1548) also provides first-hand accounts of his and his colleagues’ use of public houses throughout Europe, including in London, Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Augsburg, Cracow, and many other cities, during their diplomatic and clerical missions. The numerous letters discuss a wide range of topics concerning the locales, such as their level of cleanliness and comfort, the amicability of the publican, the burdens of extended stays therein, and various others. The epistles also show that the public houses were an important element to the infrastructure of diplomatic services. The correspondence, the above-mentioned resources, and numerous other sources allow for a reconstruction of the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty and an assessment of the types and extent of violence therein.

The Chapters

The chapters each scrutinize a different facet of the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty to reconstruct the establishments. They contribute a different element necessary to establish the setting of the work and to give life to the individuals maintaining and

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the people frequenting such locales. The chapters also reveal the situations occurring therein and help to move towards an analysis of the types of physical and verbal violence and the extent of such occurrences in the establishments.

Chapter One: The Rise of the City and Its Public Houses examines the history of the city of Cracow and the role of the public houses within that narrative in an effort to provide an urban contextualization and setting for the public houses. The city increasingly became a center for political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social activity for the Piast and Jagiellonian Dynasties and the public houses benefitted from such developments and played a role in those changes. As the city attracted more individuals, this also provided the public houses with more patrons from more diverse socioeconomic positions. The dynasts’ decision to use the city as a preferred residence, location for processions, place of coronation and burial, and for many other purposes became a boon for the establishments, especially those located along the royal route. The importance of Cracow for the Polish lands ensured a reliable clientele base for the public houses therein. The publicans, in turn, provided the populace with many amenities, including drink, food, lodging, and much more.

In the subsequent chapter, Chapter Two: The Public Houses of Cracow, the dissertation scrutinizes various aspects of the public houses of the city. Public houses were several types of establishments whose common feature was the sale of alcohol at a publicly accessible site. Many public houses, however, offered a variety of amenities and this chapter looks at the many services therein, such as food and drink offerings, lodging availability, provision of materials, lending of animals and equipment, and the facilitation of correspondence. The types of services offered by a locale could also influence the physical buildings and the locations of the enterprises and this chapter also considers these aspects. The rulers saw the potential of such activities and
instituted taxation policies to collect revenue and regulations to ensure continued successful operations. An important part of this analysis is also an examination of the most renowned public house owned by the city, the Piwnica Świdnicka.

The third chapter, Chapter Three: The Publicans of Cracow, focuses on the individuals who maintained the locales and sold alcohol on the premises—the publicans. Most publicans also provided many other services, as is covered in Chapter Two. This chapter studies these individuals by analyzing the minimum population of purveyors, the illegal sale of alcohol, the guilds, the welcoming of new publicans, the publican families, and the leasing of buildings. It also considers the Jewish inhabitants of Cracow and their role in the public houses of the city. An important part of the success of the publicans was their ability to delicately navigate many problems, including debt, gambling, prostitution, cleanliness, crime, and overconsumption. The lives of the publicans were complex and difficult, and this chapter gives life to the successes and failures of the individuals responsible for the public houses.

Chapter Four: The Patrons and Clients of the Public Houses considers the relationship between different socioeconomic groups and the public houses of the city. This most commonly involved individuals frequenting the locales and utilizing the services offered by the establishments. Wealthier individuals, such as the clergy, however, could also employ the enterprises as an important source of revenue. The chapter does not examine all socioeconomic positions of Polish society, as that would require a manuscript unto itself, but it does study the groups representative of Jagiellonian society, including the clergy, the common residents, the diplomats, and the students and faculty of the university. These groups had varying experiences with these locales and their works, be it literary, polemical, didactic, academic, religious, etc. and
actions allow their voices and opinions to be heard. From this, their actions and the activities of others at the public houses of Cracow are evident.

The final chapter, Chapter Five: Violence and the Public House, investigates the types of physical and verbal violence occurring in the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty and analyzes the extent of such occurrences. The types of violence and its extent in the public houses is a significant debate among scholars of such locales and this chapter introduces the inns, taverns, and alehouses of Cracow to this debate. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sources for the city reveals that although there were many different types of violent episodes in the locales involving various individuals, these were isolated incidents that rarely occurred. Instead, the public houses of the city were locations that helped support Cracowian everyday life and were not hotbeds of nefarious acts during the Jagiellonian Age.

Scholarship in English on medieval Poland is a young, but quickly expanding field. Prior to 1960, the field was nearly nonexistent and consisted of only a few general histories of Poland. The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Poland’s joining of NATO (1999) and the EU (2004) has brought a renewed interest in Eastern European studies and a desire to reintegrate the region’s history into European scholarship. The sustained growth of interest “has prompted comparative medievalists to reassess the criteria for comparison among medieval European regions, the meaning of centrality and peripherality, the symptoms and significance of contact among European regions, and the nature of the resulting changes.”35 Understanding the role of this region in the greater narrative of medieval Europe requires an examination of the social, political, cultural, economic, religious, and intellectual norms. Public houses, as important

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centers of these norms, provide a glimpse into medieval and early modern Cracow and the Polish lands.
Chapter One: The Rise of the City and Its Public Houses

As the geographic center of this dissertation, it is important to understand how the history of the city of Cracow and the public houses were intricately intertwined in that story. Public houses were not isolated locations in the urban setting, but instead, they played an integral role in the life of the city. The inns, taverns, and alehouses of Cracow provided important services to both the inhabitants and to visitors. The city and its rulers, in turn, influenced the locales and their owners, workers, and clientele. As Cracow increasingly became one of the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social centers of the Polish lands for both the Piast and the Jagiellonian Dynasties, this also influenced the public houses, the publicans, and the patrons. Understanding the events affecting the city and the role of its rulers, peoples, guests, and institutions in such happenings provides a greater insight into the complex relationship between city and public house. The individuals, events, and institutions introduced in this chapter will help to contextualize the public houses and the activities, including the types and extent of violence, of such places in the subsequent chapters.

The chapter begins with an examination of the development of Cracow as a political, economic, and religious center in the Polish lands and the role of the public houses during those changes. It next considers the city’s transformation into the principal seat of power for the Piast Dynasty and looks at the urban center and the locales from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. It then analyzes the formal establishment of the city and what that meant for the publicans and the public houses. The role of the city and the enterprises during the reunification of the Polish lands follow. The chapter concludes by scrutinizing the public houses and the city during the Jagiellonian Dynasty and its Golden Age. This will help to explain how the public houses in Cracow fit within the larger historical narrative.
The Development of the City as a Political, Economic, and Religious Center

The first historical reference to the name Cracow appears in the account of Ibrahim ibn Yaquib at-Turtushi in 965/966. There had been a permanent settlement from the fourth century C.E. on Wawel Hill, a large hill next to the Vistula River (Wisła), and its immediate vicinity (Okół Wawelski), but no written records have survived from that period. While likely on a diplomatic mission from Cordoba to Rome for the caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty, Al-Hakam II, ibn Yaquib briefly mentions Cracow on three occasions and describes the settlement as an important economic center. It is not clear if he visited the area of Cracow or simply heard about it during his travels. According to ibn Yaquib, Boleslav I (Boleslav I Ukrutný) (ca. 915-967 or 972), Duke of Bohemia, ruled over the region stretching from Prague to Cracow, including the settlement: “Their [Slavic] tribes formed different factions, and each tribe is ruled by a king. Currently, they have four kings: the king of the Bulgars; King Boleslav who rules Prague, Bohemia, and Cracow; Mieszko, king of the north; and in the far west, Nakun, whose country is bordered to the west by Saxons and partly by Danes.” Cracow had become part of the duchy of Bohemia after the Hungarians had destroyed Great Moravia between 902 and 907. Cracow was an important entrepôt for Boleslav on the trade routes between Kiev and Prague because “to this city [Prague] come Russians and Slavs from the city of Cracow, with their goods.”

Archeological evidence has shown that Cracow was not only an economically important center, but also politically and religiously. The settlement’s role as an important economic, political,

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and religious center would continue to increase and this would influence the many roles of public houses for the urban center. It would also attract individuals traveling for economic, political, and religious purposes who would seek the various types of amenities offered by such locales. The strategic location of the settlement and its growing prosperity, however, attracted the interest of other local rulers and possible conquerors.

Although Polish scholars continue to debate the exact circumstances and chronology, by the end of the tenth century, the Piast Dynasty gained control over Lesser Poland (Malopolska) and Cracow. The successes and growing influence of the settlement attracted conquerors from the region. Mieszko I (ca. 930-992), ruler of the Polans, a west Slavic tribe inhabiting Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), continued the territorial expansion started by his grandfather, Lestek or Leszek, and father, Semomysl, and by the end of his life, had controlled Cracow. The best written evidence for the Piast acquisition of Cracow comes from the Dagome iudex, an act placing Mieszko’s land under the protection of the Apostolic See. Scholars continue to debate the nature and circumstances of the document; however, the discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation and for its purpose, the deed is important because it states that Mieszko’s domain stretched from Cracow (Craccoa) up to the River Oder and that he was interested in connecting his territory to the Western Church. This was the historical beginning of Cracow as an important center for the Piast Dynasty and as a place of interest for the Church, both of which would influence the history of the public houses therein.

Mieszko I’s actions in 966 tied the history of Cracow and the Polish lands to the Catholic Church, the West, and to Latinity. Under the terms of peace negotiations started in 964 with Boleslav I, Mieszko purportedly agreed to marry his daughter, Dobrawa or Dąbrówka (Doubravka Přemyslovna) (ca. 940/45 – 977), to give up his seven wives, and to accept
Christianity for his people. The exact nature of the agreement and its effects on the Polish Church remain debated. The imposition of Christianity in Cracow created a bishopric in the city and joined it to the bishoprics of Prague and Olomouc. This reinforced Cracow’s connection with the Czech lands and encouraged additional interaction. The bishopric in Cracow would become one of the largest landholders amongst whose possessions included public houses. The center of the bishopric was Wawel Hill, but with the support of the Piast dukes and kings, its influence quickly spread to the surrounding area. Piotr Górecki has shown that the relationship between the Church and the public houses extended to the area around Cracow and beyond. Chapter Four examines the relationship between the clergy and the public houses of the city.

Cracow continued to grow as an important administrative center in the region under the rulership of the Piast Dynasty and this benefitted the public houses therein. Mieszko I’s son, Bolesław I the Brave (Bolesław I Chrobry) (967-1025), inherited the Piast lands through force and exiled his two step-brothers and step-mother. Cracow played a key role in Bolesław’s ambitions and became one of his main seats. The presence of the duke, later king, in the castle on Wawel Hill would attract many people, such as his administrators, religious officials, foreign and domestic emissaries, soldiers, and various others. He could not quarter all these individuals—some with retinues—in the fortification and they would seek accommodations elsewhere, including in the local public houses. Bolesław also used the city as a launching point for his

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6 Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 79.

conquests in Red Ruthenia, Slovakia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Lusatia. The culmination of Bolesław’s reign occurred in 1025, when he raised his lands to the rank of kingdom by crowning himself in Gniezno, although much scholarly debate continues on the matter. According to the conventionally-called Gallus Anonymous, the first Polish chronicler, in The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles (Gesta Principum Polonorum), Bolesław established a tradition of Polish hospitality during Otto III’s celebratory visit:

He gave an example of the liberality innate in him when for the three days following his coronation he celebrated a feast in style fit for a king or emperor. Every day the plate and the tableware were new, and many different ones were given out, ever richer again. For at the end of the feast he ordered the waiters and cupbearers to gather the gold and silver vessels—for there was nothing made of wood there—from all three days’ courses, that is, the cups and goblets, the bowls and plates and the drinking-horns, and he presented them to the emperor as a token of honor, and not as a princely tribute. His servants were likewise told to collect the wall-hangings and the coverlets, the carpets and tablecloths and napkins and everything that had been provided for their needs and take them to the emperor’s quarters. In addition he presented many other vessels, of gold and silver and of diverse workmanship, and robes of various hues and ornaments never seen before, precious stones and so many other marvelous things that the emperor regarded such presents as a miracle. Each of his princes was given presents of such magnificence that from being friendly they now became closest friends. But who could count what and how many presents he gave to all the lords, so that not a single servant out of all the multitude went away without a gift? The emperor returned home, delighted with the lavish gifts.

Despite the embellishment of the author, it is clear that Bolesław spared no expense to honor his guests and to provide them with all they could need and want. He set a precedent for hospitality in the Polish lands for future rulers and their subjects, including the publicans of the area.

Cracow’s location in the southwest of Poland allowed for continued contacts with the Latin West via the Czech lands and the Holy Roman Empire. These contacts helped bolster the

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8 “So Bolesław was thus gloriously raised to kingship by the emperor, and he gave an example of the liberality innate in him when for the three days following his coronation he celebrated a feast in style fit for a king or emperor.” Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 38-39.
9 Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 38-41.
cliente base of the public houses. Trade networks, first formed in prehistoric times, stretching from east to west and north to south, continued to bring goods, people, and ideas to the burgeoning urban area. Missionaries from the West and from Rome used Cracow as a staging city for evangelical work in the east and the north, namely in areas inhabited by pagan tribes.\textsuperscript{10} Emperor Otto III and Pope Sylvester II’s legate, Robert, recognized Bolesław’s dedication to the faith by establishing a Metropolitan See at Gniezno and a bishopric in Cracow. Gallus Anonymous speaks of Bolesław’s devotion to the Church on multiple occasions and claims: “King Bolesław was deeply devoted to religion, building churches and establishing episcopal sees and granting endowments.”\textsuperscript{11} Bolesław’s decision to place a cathedral on Wawel Hill near his residence created a lasting bond between the Church and the subsequent rulers of the city. The influx of individuals moving through or migrating to the city would create a need for food, drink, lodging, and other services, which public houses could offer. Chapter Two provides a more comprehensive look at the amenities provided by these locales.

In 1013, Bolesław I placed his son, Mieszko II Lambert (ca. 990-1034), and his new bride and daughter of Count Palatine Ezzo of Lotharingia and niece of Emperor Otto III, Richeza of Lotharingia (\textit{Rycheza}) (ca. 995-1063), in Cracow and allowed him to govern it as a dukedom.\textsuperscript{12} Despite its growing influence, however, Cracow did not surpass Gniezno in political importance for the dynasty.\textsuperscript{13} Following Bolesław’s death in 1025, Mieszko II continued to favor Cracow as a residence, but he did not move the political and religious centers of his kingdom from Gniezno.\textsuperscript{14} The death of Bolesław left his lands in mourning and the taverns fell silent as a

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{10} Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 83.
\bibitem{11} Gallus Anonymus, \textit{Gesta Principum Polonorum}, 55.
\bibitem{12} Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 88.
\bibitem{13} Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 88.
\end{thebibliography}
result: “For all through that year no one celebrated a public feast in Poland, no noble man or woman dressed in formal attire, no clapping or sound of stringed instruments was heard in the taverns, no girls sang songs, nor did any voice of happiness echo in the streets.”

The reign of the first three historical Piast rulers established many precedents for Cracow that subsequent rulers would continue and would modify to fit their ambitions. Many of the patterns would also influence the public houses of the city. The establishment of the area as a preferred political and military center brought the ruler’s household, administrators, soldiers, and others to the city and it attracted the elite in their effort to seek favor with him. The king or duke could not provide for all the needs and desires of these individuals and they would seek services elsewhere, such as in the public houses. The elite often purchased locales as a source of revenue and leased the enterprises to publicans. As an economic and trade center, artisans increasingly moved to and merchants increasingly visited the city. The ruler’s ambitious building projects required skilled workers to construct the edifices, artisans to provide the necessary supplies and tools, the labor to move the materials, and the merchants to deliver objects that could not be locally sourced. These individuals and those looking for opportunities in these fields also sought the amenities of the locales. The union of the Polish lands with the Catholic Church likewise influenced the public houses. The clergy of Cracow visited, owned, and maintained public houses in and around the city. The Church as the largest landholder in Europe during this time sought all opportunities to generate profits, including from these enterprises. All these factors would also encourage the growth of the population and this would create its own demand for the services of the public houses. Chapter Four more extensively examines the relationship between the variety of different patrons and the public houses of the city.

Cracow as “A Principal Seat of Royal Power”

During the reign of Casimir I the Restorer, Cracow became, in the words of Gallus Anonymus, “A principal seat of royal power” (*sedes Regni principales*). Controlling the city would make Cracow critical to ruling the Polish lands. The increased importance of the city for the dynasty would have lasting effects on the public houses. Following two failed attempts at regaining the Polish lands, Casimir, with the military and financial support of Emperor Henry III—Casimir’s mother, Queen Richeza, had sought refuge with the emperor during turmoil in the Polish lands—returned and began subduing the resistance to the Piast rulers caused by the death of his father. This included making peace with Yaroslav I the Wise through marriage with his sister, Maria Dobroniega of Kiev (ca. 1012-1087), and regaining lost Polish lands from Bohemia following Bretislav I’s defeat at the hands of the Emperor. With peace assured, Casimir turned to strengthening his position in Cracow. He translated the treasury to Cracow, recreated the bishopric, ordered the construction of a new cathedral on Wawel Hill, and brought the Benedictine Order to the city. He also moved to reacquire other lands lost during the period of upheaval, including Mazovia, Pomerania, and Bohemian-controlled Silesia.

Casimir’s eldest son, Bolesław II the Generous or the Bold (*Bolesław II Szczodry* or *Śmiały*) (ca. 1042-1081), became Duke of Poland in 1058 following his father’s death. Bolesław continued his father’s policies of using Cracow as “a principal seat of royal power” and to increase its importance. According to Gallus, “his successes equaled those of his predecessors, albeit he was driven by a certain excess of ambition or vanity.” He also continued the stability

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16 Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 92.
of the realm established by his father through conquest and by intervening in the affairs of the neighboring polities to ensure amicable relations. The stability allowed him to implement monetary reforms by introducing a single currency in his realm produced by mints in Cracow and Wrocław. The tranquility encouraged population growth in his realm and sustained demand for the services of the publicans as well. He also continued the hospitality established by his predecessors: “King Bolesław II was a bold and energetic knight, hospitable and warm-hearted to guests, and in giving the most generous among the generous.”

The rulership of Casimir and Bolesław further cemented Cracow’s position for the Piast Dynasty as an important political, economic, religious, cultural, and social center. Their decision to employ the city as “A principal seat of royal power” (sedes Regni principales) and the relative peace established in the city during their reigns encouraged the growth of these aspects and continued to increase the importance of Cracow for the Polish lands. This, consequently, attracted visitors and migrants and led to population growth, which created greater demand for the offerings of the public houses.

Casimir I’s second son, Władysław I Herman, divided his lands between his two sons, with Zbigniew receiving Mazovia and Greater Poland, and Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1086-1138) gaining Silesia and Lesser Poland. Conflict between the two brothers soon erupted and by 1106-1107, Bolesław emerged victorious. During the struggle with his brother, Bolesław used Cracow as his base of operations. He also occasionally used public houses. Gallus Anonymous recalls Bolesław staying at a public house during Lent: “Every day, too, he would

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20 Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 87-97.  
21 Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 88-89.  
22 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 92.  
23 “When they came, before their father was even in his grave a bitter quarrel nearly broke out between the two brothers about the division of the treasury and the kingdom.” Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 157; 183-195.
walk from his inn, often barefoot, with the bishops and chaplains so long till he completed the canonical Hours of the perpetual Virgin, the seven penitentiary psalms with a litany, and added most of the entire sequence of the Psalter after the vigil for the dead. Following his victory, Bolesław continued to employ Cracow as his preferred residence and the most important city of his realm. According to Wyrozumski, the city was the place of the ruler's treasury, where the duke received the most important embassies, and where he issued military-administrative orders to other authorities. Bolesław also relied on the services of the bishop of Cracow when negotiating truces and securing oaths. Additionally, it appears that Bolesław gave Cracow a position of primacy over other Polish cities when dividing his inheritance among his sons—the exact nature of the decision, known as the Senioral Principle, continues to be controversial. The concentration of power in Cracow also attracted the elite of Bolesław’s lands to reside in the city in an effort to secure favor with the ruler. The most important officials resided in residences near the duke on Wawel Hill, while others inhabited the area around the hill to be as close as possible to the potentate. This reinforced Cracow’s position in the realm as a political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social center. These aspects, as was evident from previous reigns, created population growth and demand for the amenities of the public houses in the city.

Although Bolesław III Wrymouth’s attempt to preserve the unity of his lands while providing inheritances for his four surviving sons soon failed following his death in 1138, it strengthened Cracow’s role in the Polish lands. The brothers, Władysław II the Exile (Władysław II Wygnaniec) (1105-1159), Bolesław IV the Curly (Bolesław Kędzierzawy) (ca. 1125-1173),

24 Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 276-279.
26 Gallus Anonymus, Gesta Principum Polonorum, 189.
27 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 110-117.
28 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 112-113.
Mieszko III the Old (*Mieszko III Stary*) (ca. 1126-1202), and Henry of Sandomierz (*Henryk Sandomierski*) (ca. 1131-1166), quickly turned on one another in an attempt to unify the Polish lands under a single ruler. Despite the political fragmentation, Cracow continued to function as the most important city of the Seniorate. In fact, Wyrozumski argues that Cracow gained in importance for the Polish lands during the upheaval because as ducal control of the land shifted and his focus shifted to other parts of the territory, the elite within the city, including the bishop, count palatine, and the castellan or voivode (*wojewoda*), gained a greater role in its administration. This enabled the city to play a greater role in the larger politics. For example, in 1191, the elite of the city deposed High Duke Casimir II the Just (*Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy*) (1138-1194) and proclaimed Mieszko III the Old in his place. Although Casimir II would later regain control over Cracow, he could not break the elite’s hold on power. The death of Casimir II in 1194 and Mieszko III in 1202 further complicated the politics in the Polish lands, but despite this, the elite of Cracow continued to dictate the future of the Seniorate by selecting high dukes and imposing conditions on their position. The stability created by the elite of the city allowed economic, religious, and cultural growth and the population to increase, which ensured a reliable clientele base for the public houses. The elite also continued to see the establishments as investments from which they could collect taxes and fees from leasing.

The City from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries

Cracow from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries consisted of growing fortifications and a castle on Wawel Hill surrounded by a populous settlement. Wawel likely included defensive

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29 Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 114.
30 Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 114.
walls and towers, residences for the rulers, and religious edifices, including churches and a cathedral ordered by Bolesław I the Brave (Bolesław I Chrobry). Various artisans and merchants gravitated towards the growing population and plied their wares around Wawel Hill. By the end of the thirteenth century, it is possible that Wawel Hill was home to as many as seven churches and one cathedral. By 1166, the cathedral was also home to a growing cathedral school and library. Bolesław I and the subsequent rulers also contributed to the construction of sacral buildings in the Okół Wawelski. The oldest churches were the aforementioned Saint Giles (Św. Idziego) and Saint Andrew’s (Św. Andrzej), which was first under the care of the Benedictines, then, under the Poor Clares. Other churches included the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene (Św. Marii Magdaleny), the Church of Saint Martin (Św. Marcina), the Church of Saint Peter (Św. Piotra), the Church of Holy Trinity (Św. Trójcy), the Church of the Holy Cross (Św. Krzyża), and the All Saints’ Church (Wszystkich Świętych). The city was also home to multiple religious orders: the Dominicans by 1225, the Franciscans by 1237, and the Order of the Holy Ghost (Ordo Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Sancti Spiritus de Saxia) by 1244.

Archeological evidence shows that the people of the Okół Wawelski were involved in trade, agriculture, fishing, husbandry, and crafts. The crafts included pottery, weaving, casting, horn carving, and goldsmithing. The inhabitants of the area would also brew ale, which publicans could sell at the public houses. These activities helped bolster trade with the Czechs, the Hungarians, and the Holy Roman Empire. It is likely that a market occurred regularly near

32 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 83-84.
34 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 118.
35 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 142.
36 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 92.
37 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 118.
38 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 66.
the Church of Holy Trinity, in an open area with food stalls and taverns.\(^{39}\) Public houses were often located near the market areas in an effort to attract customers and to take advantage of special market days. The locales would have provided food, drink, accommodations, and other important services to the market goers. As the city grew over the centuries, it spread farther from the Wawel Hill. This encouraged additional construction in other parts of the town. The bishopric was actively involved in the growing settlement and established more churches and monasteries. Wyrozumski believes that by 1257, Cracow and its surrounding area consisted of between twenty-five and twenty-eight churches and four religious houses (Dominicans, Franciscans, Norbertines, and Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit).\(^{40}\)

Cracow’s growth during this time period as a political, religious, and economic center would have implications for the public houses of this burgeoning area. The importance of the city in these aspects would attract many individuals seeking to perform their duties for the duke or king, to gain positions among the courts, to participate in the religious traditions, to sell their wares, to pursue employment opportunities, or to move to the urban center for numerous other reasons. Many of the people would look to the public houses therein to meet their basic needs of food, drink, and shelter. The public houses, however, provided several other services for the population, including selling supplies, such as firewood, lending horses or wagons for various uses, and operating as locations where individuals could receive messages and the “news.” The many functions of the public houses of the city receive more extensive attention in Chapter Two.

In 1241, the Mongol horde (Tatars) reached Cracow and besieged the city for the first time. According to the *Annals of the Cracow Chapter* (*Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej*) and the account provided by the fifteenth-century Polish chronicler, Jan Długosz (*Johannes Longinus*)

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\(^{39}\) Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 126.

\(^{40}\) Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa*, 140-141.
In the Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland (Annales seu Cronici Incliti Regni Poloniae), the Mongols plundered the houses and churches of the city and then, burned it to the ground. Most of the residents had fled before the horde arrived, but those who could not, successfully defended themselves in the fortified Church of Saint Andrew:

“Convinced that there they [Tatars] will find the country’s treasures, they try to capture the Church of St. Andrew, then outside the walls of Cracow, in which many of the poor and sick have taken refuge, but the Poles defend it stoutly and in the end the Tatars abandon the attempt.”

The widespread destruction would have also destroyed the public houses and it would be some time before these establishments would function again in the city. Although the city suffered significant material damage, its population, having fled the destruction, survived the ordeal and began to return to the city and rebuild it.

The Formal Establishment of Cracow as a City

Duke Bolesław V the Chaste’s (Wstydliwy) (1226-1279) decision on June 5, 1257, to give privileges to “place a city in Cracow” (locare civitatem in Cracovia) became a turning point in the formation and development of the city, which consequently, would influence the public houses therein. It appears that prior to this act the city consisted of several administrative areas: Wawel Hill and Okół Wawelski pertained to the castle, while the land farther from the hill to the bishop. Customary law and German law (Ius Theutonicum) were the basis of many of the institutions utilized in the city, such as the position of the Soltys (Latin Secundus Advocatus

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43 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 152-153.
German *Schultheiß*). Some of these institutions continued to function under the new privileges. The new rights relied on Magdeburg Law (*Ius Magdeburgense*) and formally established the judicial system in the city, which included the creation of the position of the burgomaster (*wójt*), his council (*ława*), and a city council (*rada miejska*). The model for the implementation of the Magdeburg Law was the city of Wrocław (Latin: *Vratislavia*), which received its city privileges in 1242. Although the privileges were based on Magdeburg Law, judges, court officials, later royal enactments, and other law codes, including Roman and canon law, determined the details of the implementation of the law in the city. As a result, the Polish law was distinct from Magdeburg Law and differed more and more over time. In 1559, Bartłomiej Groicki (ca. 1534-1605), the notary of the High Court of Magdeburg Law at the Castle of Cracow, wrote a guidebook to the Magdeburg laws in Polish because by that date, in his own words, “Poles, especially those who do not understand the Latin language and neither know what the *Speculum Saxonum* nor the *Ius Municipale Maydeburgense* is, could have [this work] as a certain statute of city law and organization of the municipal courts.”

The city privileges codified the heritable position of the burgomaster (*wójt*) for the city and established them as vassals of the ruler. Originally, there were three burgomasters: Gedko Stilvoyt, Jakub, a former judge in Nysa, and Dethmar Wolk. According to Wyrozumski, the

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burgomasters were entrepreneurs who invested “their own capital, their own technical skills, and their own organizational ingenuity” in return for a fee from each of his court cases, dues from every sixth city dweller, thirty lan (Latin laneus, German Lahn) of land (about 600 hectares), the honor of the office, and the opportunity to gain other positions.48 They also had the right to establish “stations” (Latin stationes), that is workshops and places of sales, such as slaughterhouses, bakeries, cobbleries, taverns, etc., from which they received taxes from all income.49 Additionally, the burgomasters received rights to use the Vistula River and its tributary, the Prądnik River. Specifically on the Vistula, they could fish the waters, utilize the banks, and construct three mills; and on the Prądnik, they received four mills and the right to build more, from which they would pay the duke ¼ Grzywny per wheel.50 By 1264, only one burgomaster appears in the records, a certain Raszko, and Wyrozumski believes this is because the original three burgomasters, as entrepreneurs, had sold their position.51 A certain Henryk, perhaps the son of Raszko, became the next burgomaster, followed by Albert, whose actions would change the role of the position.52

The burgomaster performed many duties for the city and his lord. He was expected to “be born of a righteous marriage, continuously living in a house, of good reputation, God-fearing, loving of justice and truth, having hatred of lies and anger.”53

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48 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 167-168; Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 132.
49 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 168; Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 132.
50 In eodem eciam fluio concedimus Aduocatis, uel quibus ipsi contulerint, duo nostra molendina, et tercium, quod olim fuit fratrum de Mechowia, necnon quartum, quod fuit de Andreow Monachorum; et si plura in eodem fluio molendina sine aliorum tamen necum et preiudicio edificare poterint, eam eis iure hereditario concedimus potestatem, ita, quod de qualibet rota tam presencium quam futurorum molendinorum fertonem usualis nunc argentj nobis annuatijm persoluere teneantur.” Kłodziński, Przywileje Lokacyjne, 19.
51 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 187.
52 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 191-192.
53 “Nadto mają być z prawego małżeństwa narodzeni, doma zawyżd myszkający, dobrej sławy, Boga się bojący, sprawiedliwość i prawdę miłujący, kłamstwa i złość w nienawiści mający.” Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 29.
the wójt was to act as judge during court proceedings. In this capacity, he was expected “to be attentive and to think carefully, for he sits on the stool of God; he should judge both the wealthy and the poor equally and well so that in the listening to both sides, he be merciful, willing, and eager, and to judge without anger and without hate.”

The court proceedings dealt with crimes committed by individuals within the city, even if Magdeburg law did not normally pertain to them, including the nobility, knights, clergy, and others. The privileges did not create an appeals court, but the duke acknowledged that if there was a call for appeal, he would personally take part in court proceedings with the burgomaster and his council or assign a representative to oversee the hearing.

The burgomaster also had to use his own discretion and personal experience to create new laws because the charter failed to establish regulations for many important aspects of city life. He enforced the ordinances by acting as the police force and by collecting taxes.

In addition to his legal obligations, the burgomaster provided military service to the lord, wherever they may need it, at their own expense with their own resources and men. Rarely could the burgomaster send men or money instead of personally appearing for military service.

The burgomaster’s council assisted the burgomaster in many of his duties. The city charter did not explicitly create the council, but because Cracow’s model for the privileges was Wrocław, which already had a council, Cracow likely established the position at the same time as the privileges or at least by 1264 when it appeared in documents for the first time.

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54 Groicki, Porzdek Sądów, 32.
55 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 138.
56 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 136.
57 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 135.
58 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 135.
59 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 172.
council aided the burgomaster during court proceedings. It attended the hearings and provided the burgomaster with a suitable punishment for the guilty party. The Iure Municipali guided the burgomaster’s council to the appropriate punishment of crimes, but they did not always abide: for verbal abuse (słowne przewinienie) the penalty was five Grosze and a Szeląg (the third part of a Grosz), for failing to appear in court the penalty was forty Grosze, for causing someone to bleed the penalty was twenty-five Grosze and a Szeląg, for bruising someone the penalty was five Grosze and a Szeląg, and various others. These guidelines were particularly important for much of the litigation involving the public houses of the city and this will be crucial to the assessment of verbal and physical violence of these locales in Chapter Five. By 1289, the council consisted of seven men, five of whom were artisans, including a malter. Each of the council members received one Szeląg per sentencing and the scribe received two Szeląg. The scribe was expected to be “explicit, honest, bound by oath to the city, and in terms of recording the court proceedings, he uses clear, original, understandable, and not difficult words” otherwise, the punishment for an incorrect inscription or list was the loss of the hand with which he wrote it. The city council gradually gained a greater role in the administration of the city. In the beginning, the city council served the needs of the burgomaster and his council. The burgomaster selected the first council consisting of six men for a one-year term and then, the

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60 “Sędzia wedle prawa miejskiego na sądzie nie ma wynajdować sentencyjej, to jest ma przysiężników o sentencyją pytać, którzy mu ją potym zmdwiwszy się mają przez starszego opowiedzieć, a on ją ma wydać, tak jako mu opowiedzą.” Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 33.
61 Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 34.
62 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 194-195.
63 “Ius, inquit, scabinorum istud est, cum profertur sententia, quod cuilibet eorum unus solidus, notario vero duo solidi dantur.” Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 39.
64 “Pisarz jest persona jawna, godna, przysięgą w mieście obiązana, ku spisowaniu spraw sądowych jasnymi, własnymi, nie trudnymi i wyrozumnymi słowy.” “Pisarz, który by napisał niesłuszny zapis abo list, rękę traci, którą go napisał.” Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 40.
65 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 187.
serving members chose the subsequent group.\textsuperscript{66} The composition of each group of members varied, but generally, it consisted of prominent members of the city, including merchants, bankers, artisans, professors from the university, and even immigrants who became citizens.\textsuperscript{67} The voivode of Cracow confirmed the nominations on the Sunday after the Epiphany (January 6) in front a large crowd with much fanfare.\textsuperscript{68} Such occasions meant large celebrations, from which the public houses capitalized on. The original purpose of the council was to

meet with the burgomaster at the city hall at least once a week or as often as necessary, to advise about the common good, to multiply the common good, to prevent any harm which would come to the common good; to mediate and judge new disputes, to tend to things according to one’s highest reason and caution, so that there be not excessive costs of food and drink within the city.\textsuperscript{69}

Additionally, the city council “was to oversee the bakers, butchers, and taverners” and “to be vigilant against all unfair weights and measures of all food, drink, and purchases.”\textsuperscript{70} The falsification of weights and measures was an issue that the city council confronted the publicans on and this will receive greater attention in Chapter Three. Louis I of Hungary (\textit{Ludwik Węgierski}) (1326-1382) established the jurisdiction of the council to include all disputes within two miles of the city center in a privilege from 1378.\textsuperscript{71} Over time, the council gained additional privileges thus increasing its role in the administration of the city.

\textsuperscript{66} Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 196.
\textsuperscript{68} Noga, \textit{Krakowska Rada Miejska}, 23.
\textsuperscript{69} “Burmistrza z radą urząd na tym jest: przynamniej raz w tydzień albo ilekroć potrzeba przyniesie na ratusz się schodzić, o pospolitym dobrym radzić, pospolitą rzecz pomnażać, a szkodom, które by na pospolitą rzecz miały przyjść, zabiegać; spory nowo wszczęte ugadzać i rozsądza, wedle najwyższego rozumu i baczzenia swego opatrować, aby drogość jedzenia i picia w mieście ni była.” Groicki, \textit{Porządki Sądów}, 29-30.
\textsuperscript{70} “Nad to piekarzów, rzeźników i kaczmarszów mają doglądać. Miary każde i wagi niesprawiedliwe, wszelkiego jedzenia i picia i kupiej wszelkiej obaczać.” Groicki, \textit{Porządki Sądów}, 30.
\textsuperscript{71} Noga, \textit{Krakowska Rada Miejska}, 35.
Duke Bolesław V the Chaste’s decision to establish Cracow would also have legal ramifications for the public houses of the city. The jurisdiction of the burgomaster and city council now extended over the inns, taverns, and alehouses of the city. This included creating legislation and fiscal policies regarding the establishments and ensuring fair weights and measurements of their products. It also meant that the wójt would oversee court proceedings regarding public houses and these records—the *Ksiegi Wójtowskie Krakowskie*—provide a valuable primary source on the happenings of the locales, as will be clear from the subsequent chapters. The taxation, fees, and regulations imposed on the inns, taverns, and alehouses receive more extensive attention in Chapter Two. The burgomaster and the city council also saw public houses as a source of income beyond taxation and they would purchase and inherit locales to generate revenue for the city. They would also establish the well-renowned alehouse the Piwnica Świdnicka (*Cellarium Swidniczense* or *Szwynyczka Pywnycza*) on the main square, in the townhall (*ratusz*), next to the dungeon. Chapter Two provides a more comprehensive look at the Piwnica.

After a rebellion led by Wójt Albert against Władysław I the Elbow-high (*Władysław I Łokietek*) (1261-1333) in 1311, the city council gained influence in the decision-making process for the city because Władysław stripped many of the privileges of the position. Albert’s rebellion also helped weaken the burgomaster’s council by forfeiting the selection of its members to the city council. This allowed the city council to steadily become the most important governing body in Cracow and because the city was one of the preeminent political and economic centers of the Polish lands, it was one of the most important institutions in the kingdom. In 1475, the city council started to reach the pinnacle of its power in the city by buying out the position of

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72 Noga, *Krakowska Rada Miejska*, 7-12.
burgomaster from Piotr Lang for 1000 Grzywien. The council now chose the burgomaster and his council, in addition to hiring guards, city servants, executioners, and scribes. It also became responsible for organizing the defense of the city walls, maintaining the fortifications, and ensuring peace and order within those confines. Jan Pachoński estimates that the number of individuals needed to defend the city in 1473 was 1,636. The council tasked the guilds (contubernium or confraternitas) of the city with the manning of the defensive towers, walls, and gates, with the taverners guild responsible for two towers on the northern part of the walls. The officials issued statutes to ensure that the guild was properly prepared for its duties, including training obligations and armament requirements. Appendix A provides images of the present-day markers of the sites of the Taverners’s Guild Towers. Publicans receiving citizenship to the city periodically bought crossbows (ballista) to fulfil their obligations, as is evident from the Books of Admissions to Municipal Law in Krakow (Księgi Przyjęć do Prawa Miejskiego w Krakowie). Appendix B provides a list of publicans involved in the admissions to municipal law. In 1530, King Zygmunt I the Old (Stary) (1467-1548) designated the council as the body
overseeing the safety of the Jews in the city under the penalty of 30,000 Grzywien. A decree from 1585 reconfirmed the possessions of the governing body: the alehouse under the city hall (Piwnica Świdnicka), various cellars (piwnice), the large and small scale, a brickyard, a quarry, a smelter, farms, houses, bathhouses, cloth shops, and the so-called Wealthy Market Stalls (Kramy Bogate). The council’s control over the income of the city allowed it to influence the future of the city. The city council was accountable only to the king and his delegate, while the burgomaster and his council were beholden to the city council.

The privileges, under the guidance of the burgomasters, helped lay out the city as a grid with a large square at its center with the intention that it serve as the major marketplace and economic center of Cracow—later called the Main Square (Rynek Główny). A market, established and protected by the charter, would occur biweekly usually on Tuesday and Friday, in addition to the everyday stalls. The square was set in a clearing or lightly populated area in front of the Church of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven or St. Mary’s Church (Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny or Kościół Mariacki) with three parallel streets on each side. The layout incorporated some of the structures already present on the site, namely, St. Mary’s Church, St. Adalbert’s (Św. Wojciech) Church, and St. John’s (Św. Jana) Church. The square also included food stalls, everyday stalls, the cloth hall, and city hall (ratusz). Magdeburg Law helped guide the layout of the city, though not always followed, into plots (area or curia) of approximately 21x42 m, and later, half plots. Many of the wealthiest and most

79 Noga, Krakowska Rada Miejska, 40.
80 Noga, Krakowska Rada Miejska, 53.
81 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 173.
82 Kamińska, Lokacje Miast, 184.
prominent inhabitants of the city settled around the main square, and in the thirteenth century, began constructing their edifices with brick.\footnote{Komorowski and Sudacka, \textit{Rynek Główny}, 30.} Other groups and professions also moved to areas nearby the square. Although some congregated in specific areas, like the cobblers along Cobbler’s Street and Jews along Jewish Street, they were not restricted to these quarters. The location of the square shifted the center of the city to the north, away from Wawel Hill and the Vistula River.

The decision to establish and relocate the city away from Wawel Hill to the northeast influenced the locations of the public houses. As the center of the city moved away from Wawel Hill towards the Main Square and the population followed, the publicans went along with their clientele. The public houses were spread throughout the grid, but were concentrated on important thoroughfares, including along the Royal Route and in the northeast corridor of the city, where most travelers entered the city. A permanently established market square incorporating existing church structures also attracted the public houses as this would mean a reliable source of customers. Chapter Two provides a more complete reconstruction of the topography of the public houses within the city walls.

Cracow and its population quickly grew following the establishment of the city and it flourished during the second half of the thirteenth century despite minor setbacks. Waldemar Komorowski estimates that the city reached a population of about twelve to fifteen thousand residents, composed predominantly of Poles, followed by Germans, Italians, and Jews.\footnote{Komorowski, \textit{Średniowieczne Domy Krakowskie}, 93.} The burgeoning population ensured a reliable demand for the amenities of the public houses. The German population played an important role in the growth of the city by occupying many of the municipal positions—German was the official language of the burgomaster’s office and the city
council until 1312. Following burgomaster Albert’s rebellion, however, the German population lost some of its prominence in the city.

The establishment of the city allowed artisans in Cracow to continue to flourish. The city charter specifically mentions three trades: butchers, bakers, and cobbblers. The duke regarded these as essential to the survival and prosperity of the city and wanted to ensure their proper organization. Shifting the center of the city created a demand for new religious, residential, and public buildings and eventually, defensive fortifications. This, in turn, created a boon for the trades associated with the construction of new edifices, such as stonemasonry, bricklaying, carpentry, and various others. Additional tradesmen, such as potters, blacksmiths, tailors, tanners, etc. helped support the construction projects and everyday life throughout the city. As happened in earlier eras, the influx of workers added to the demand of services offered by public houses.

The various tradesmen began establishing guilds in the thirteenth century, with the butcher’s guild as the first known association. The first taverners guild (seniores tabernatores) appeared in the records in 1423, while the malters (seniores braseatores) emerged in 1418 and brewers (seniores braxatorum) appeared in 1420, although these likely formed earlier than these dates. In the fifteenth century, the guilds in the city numbered in the forties. Many of the guilds implemented articles governing their members’ interactions with the public houses of the city. For example, on October 16, 1561, the fisherman’s guild issued a stipulation that its members could not carry weapons, such as an axe, to the public houses under penalty of two

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87 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 176.
88 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 177.
89 Gadocha, “Cech Piwowarów,” 255.
90 Paul W. Knoll, “A Pearl of Powerful Learning”: The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 52.
Florins. The restrictions, however, did not prohibit members from frequenting locales as the guilds recognized the importance of allowing their members to visit the establishments.

The success of the various trades established the layout and hierarchy of the market on the main square. The cloth merchants assumed the top position in the hierarchy and therefore, also received the central position in the square. The investment required to begin and maintain the cloth trade ensured that only the wealthiest were involved in the endeavor. Bolesław V, looking to maximize profits from the trade, constructed a cloth hall (camerae pannorum) at the center of the town square for the cloth merchants, from which he received 5/6 of the taxes from the earnings and the burgomaster the remaining 1/6. Outside the cloth hall, next stood the so-called bread stalls (bancos panum), which, in addition to bread, sold meat and fish. Next in the hierarchy, and outside the cloth hall and in the Wealthy Stalls, were the traders dealing with luxury items, such as silk, soap, wax, herbs, spices, etc. Lastly, beyond these positions, were the so-called markets (Targi Latin: Forum) dealing with lead (depositorum plumbi), salt (forum salis), coal (forum carbonarium), chicken (forum gallorum), fish (forum piscium), etc.

Trade flourished as a result of the city charter. The presence of the rulers, the elite, and the clergy in the city increased the demand for quality products. The cloth merchants, as is evident from their top position in the merchant hierarchy, oversaw the largest quantities of trade and established some of the most distant trade networks to ensure a reliable supply of materials.
of the highest quality. Textiles arrived in Cracow from Germany, Italy, and the Czech lands. The discovery of rock salt in the mid-thirteenth century in Wieliczka (8.1 mi from Cracow) gave Cracow a reliable supply of salt for trade. This led to the creation of a salt market on the main square at least by 1343, but likely much earlier.\textsuperscript{97} In the thirteenth century, Cracow also became an important market for trade in lead. It received a steady supply of lead from the town of Sławków (35 mi from Cracow), which it used for its own purposes and to sell at market.\textsuperscript{98} In the 1270s, copper mining became more efficient and Hungary began producing a surplus.\textsuperscript{99} Cracow was one of the destinations for this surplus, especially when the city gained staple rights in 1306.\textsuperscript{100} This gave Cracowian traders the right to transport copper to the lucrative Baltic ports. Shortly after receiving city privileges, at least by 1283, Cracow erected a large scale and a lead scale to ensure the accurate and consistent measurement of goods.\textsuperscript{101} It also established a small scale used to weigh smaller loads, such as soap, lard, pitch, alum, sap, wax, herbs, spices, and other luxury goods.\textsuperscript{102} Near the scales stood the Wealthy Stalls, which sold said items. The brisk trade occurring in Cracow during this time ensured a consistent flow of individuals traveling to and from the city. Some of the merchants traveling to the center would have their own accommodations, while others could arrange lodging with their contacts, but certainly not all had a prearranged destination where they could satisfy their needs and desires. Many of these individuals sought the amenities of the public houses for various durations of time to meet their demands.

\textsuperscript{97} Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 179-180.
\textsuperscript{98} Komorowski and Sudacka, \textit{Rynek Główny}, 31.
\textsuperscript{100} Kamińska, \textit{Lokacje Miast}, 98-99.
\textsuperscript{101} Komorowski and Sudacka, \textit{Rynek Główny}, 31.
\textsuperscript{102} Komorowski and Sudacka, \textit{Rynek Główny}, 40.
A second Mongol invasion, which destroyed large parts of Cracow, temporarily hindered the growth and success of the city in 1259. According to Długosz writing much later, “Although Cracow and Sandomierz have avoided being drawn into the quarrel between the other Polish dukes, they now become involved in a war worse than civil war, when, soon after St. Andrew’s Day, a huge Tatar army under Khan Nogay and Khan Telebuga of the Golden Horde, reinforced by contingents from the Ruthenian and Lithuanian dukes, moves against the Polish dukes.”

He then continues by describing the destruction brought upon the two cities. Duke Bolesław V learned of the attacks, but decided that he would leave the defense of Cracow up to Clement, the Voivode of Cracow, while he waited in Hungary for the Tatars to return home. As a result, the damage to Cracow and the surrounding area was extensive: “In these three months the Tatars inflict more damage than they did eighteen years previously.” The loss of lives and the destruction of buildings would have been devastating for the publicans of the city and it would have been some time before they would recover.

Despite the attack from the Mongol horde, Cracow recovered and invested heavily to ensure its survival and success by beginning the construction of extensive fortifications in 1285. The first phase of the fortifications, with permission from Duke Leszek II the Black (Leszek Czarny) (ca. 1241-1288), involved the creation of an earth and stone embankment, a palisade wall, and a moat (fortissimis plancis et fossatis) around the whole city.

Wyrozumski believes the construction took only about a year to complete because the city was able to defend itself from a subsequent Mongol attack in December 1287. In 1298, under the rulership of Duke,

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Cracow during the Reunification of the Polish Lands

Prince Władysław I the Elbow-high was the first member of the Piast Dynasty to successfully reunify many of the Polish lands in nearly 200 years. Cracow would continue as one of the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social centers of the reunified lands. According to Paul W. Knoll, “The Poland into which Łokietek (“the Short”) was born was not a state but a collection of territorially fragmented principalities.”\footnote{Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy*, 14.} Władysław had inherited the lands of his father, Casimir I of Kuyavia (*Kazimierz I Kujawski*) (ca. 1211-1267), Duke of Kuyavia, Łęczyca, and Sieradz, following the death of his two elder half-brothers from his father's second wife: Leszek II the Black in 1288 and Ziemomysł of Inowrocław (*Ziemomysł Inowrocławski*) (ca. 1245-1287) in 1287. The inherited land gave Władysław the resources and the army needed to move towards acquiring Lesser Poland. Following the death of Przemysł II (1257-1296), High Duke of Poland, in 1296, Władysław proclaimed himself successor and began preparations to move on the region. The peasants, knights, and part of the clergy supported Władysław’s claim; however, the local lords supported Wenceslaus II Přemyslid of Bohemia and Władysław delayed his move. By 1304, Władysław had gained enough support to enter the region and begin conquering cities. According to Długosz, “[Władysław] goes to Poland and occupies the fort at Pełczyska which belongs to Cracow cathedral, and then proceeds to expel the Czech garrison from the neighbouring town of Wiślica, of which he also assumes control, as he
does of the fort and town of Lelów, and exacts tribute from the surrounding area.”

Władysław’s victories convinced many of his detractors to favor his claim on Cracow and therefore, he decided to continue his campaign. In 1306, Władysław marched on the city and emerged victorious in the struggle. The conquest of the city gave Władysław control over Lesser Poland and additional resources with which he could continue his efforts to unify Polish lands, but it did not subdue all dissention to his rule.

On January 20, 1320, Władysław decided to hold his coronation as king of Poland at the tomb of St. Stanislaw in the Wawel Cathedral, thus establishing the city’s role as the place of future coronations for the Piasts and later, the Jagiellonians. Such a momentous occasion would attract revelers from near and far and these individuals would often turn to the public houses of the city to properly celebrate the event. Władysław’s decision to favor Cracow became “the gentle but definite shift in the political center of gravity in the regnum.” Under his guidance Cracow continued to flourish and establish itself as an important central European city.

Władysław oversaw “the beginning of a major renovation of Wawel Cathedral, the initiation of a rebuilt Draper’s Hall in the central market square, the building of new fortifications for the city and the castle, and continuing improvements upon St. Mary’s Church.” He desired a city which reflected his accomplishments and his ambitions, and Cracow would gradually become a city of such prestige. The public houses of the city would be one of the beneficiaries of these changes.

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110 “Fortune has begun to favour Łokietek, for the gentry, knights and magnates of Cracow and Sandomierz submit to his authority, while many of the ordinary people feel sympathy for one who has suffered exile for so long, and give him their support.” Długosz, The Annals of Jan Długosz, 249.
112 Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 63.
The political landscape of the city underwent upheaval in 1311-1312 with the uprising of a portion of the German-speaking population under the leadership of the aforementioned burgomaster Albert against Władysław. It is possible that Albert and the Bishop of Cracow, Jan Muskata (1250-1320), a Silesian by birth, were sympathetic to the Přemyslid claims to the city and opposed Władysław Łokietek.\textsuperscript{113} Albert and the city council, who felt “unable to endure the crushing taxes of Łokietek’s rule and the onerous contributions towards financing his war,” convinced many of the leading citizens of the city to rebel, and sent envoys to Duke Bolesław of Opole to “conclude a pact for the surrender of Cracow.”\textsuperscript{114} Bolesław accepted the offer and arrived in the city with his followers. The occupants of the castle and many residents of the city, however, remained loyal to Władysław and this imperiled Bolesław’s position. Władysław, after learning of the rebellion, marched on the city with a large contingent and demanded that Bolesław surrender Cracow. Bolesław, realizing the precariousness of his position, surrendered the city and returned to Opole. Albert, his wife, his children, and some of the still-loyal, elite citizens followed Bolesław to Opole and later, permanently relocated to Prague.\textsuperscript{115}

Władysław’s retribution on the city for the rebellion was swift. He first targeted the position of the burgomaster by confiscating its property, reducing its privileges and income, and by destroying its seat and building a defensive structure in its place. He next removed six of the eight members of the city council and three of the seven members of the burgomaster’s council. The new councils would largely consist of individuals who had not previously been involved in the administration of the city. He also confiscated property from members of the elite who did

\textsuperscript{114} Długosz, \textit{The Annals of Jan Długosz}, 260.
\textsuperscript{115} Baszkiewicz, \textit{Polska Czasów Łokietka}, 112-113.
not oppose the rebellion and hung any citizens suspected of sympathizing with the rebels.\textsuperscript{116} It is also possible, although only stated in the \textit{Rocznick Krasińskich}, that he implemented a shibboleth—\textit{Soczewica, koło, miele, młyn} (Lentil, wheel, grind, mill)—to target any remaining German-speaking residents, who were seen to be sympathetic to the rebellion and could not pronounce the words “correctly,” for execution.\textsuperscript{117} Latin replaced German as the official language of the city and its records.\textsuperscript{118} The repression of some of the leading inhabitants resulted in the reduction of the role of the elite and the burgomaster in city governance, and an increase of the influence of the city council.\textsuperscript{119} Additionally, Władysław temporarily retracted the privileges, which he granted the city in 1306, such as the right for citizens to bring charges against most individuals, including the \textit{szlachta} and dignitaries, in the city courts, the rights for the city to collect duties on herring and other fish, the right to sell salt within the city walls, and Cracow’s staple rights to Hungarian copper.\textsuperscript{120} Ultimately, “the suppression of this revolt broke the back of all opposition to Łokietek.”\textsuperscript{121}

The long reign of Władysław’s son, Casimir III the Great (\textit{Kazimierz III Wielki}) (1310-1370), led to a period of sustained growth and success for the city. He inherited the throne on his father’s death on March 2, 1333 in Cracow and burial in the cathedral several days later. During Casimir’s reign, new styles of architecture, namely Gothic, began to influence the construction of new buildings. Casimir urged the residents of Cracow to replace old and easily flammable wooden buildings with new brick or stone structures. This became the basis for the Polish

\begin{footnotes}
\item[116] Wyrozumski, \textit{Dzieje Krakowa}, 207.
\item[118] Baszkiewicz, \textit{Polska Czasów Łokietka}, 112.
\item[121] Knoll, \textit{The Rise of the Polish Monarchy}, 33.
\end{footnotes}
saying, “He found a Poland made of wood and left it made of stone” (“Zastał Polskę drewnianą, a zostawił murowaną”). The public houses of the city reflect the shift towards using brick or stone for edifices as many incorporated such building materials. Chapter Two looks at the physical edifices and their construction more closely. By 1358, within the walls of the city there was a growing market square, twenty-two bakeries, various butcheries, three bathhouses, a goldsmith, a silversmith, two city scales, two city wagons for transporting beer and wine, and various other enterprises. In that same year, the king renewed and supplemented the city’s privileges, which included protection for the public houses against outside competition. The privilege forbade the construction of taverns beyond half a mile from the city to ensure that individuals traveling to Cracow, frequented the public houses within the city walls. In 1363, the city hosted the marriage of his granddaughter, Elizabeth of Pomerania (Elżbieta Pomorska), to Charles IV (Karel IV), King of the Romans. Casimir showed hospitality to all the celebrants and provided accommodations in the public houses of the city. According to Jan Długosz, Casimir quartered the kings in attendance at the castle, while “the others and their servants are lodged in inns and provided with everything they may need for their comfort.” Royal celebrations in the city were a boon to the public houses. On May 12, 1364, Casimir established the Studium Generale in the city of Cracow modeled on the universities in Bologna, Padua, and Naples with three faculties: Liberal Arts, Medicine, and Law. Under his guidance, the defensive fortifications of the city consisted of large walls averaging ten meters in height, with at

122 Wyrozumski, Dzieje Krakowa, 233.
125 Mieczysław Markowski, Dzieje Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w Latach 1397-1525 [The History of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Cracow in 1397-1525] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie, 1996), 42.
least fourteen towers and seven gatehouses—St. Florian’s, St. Nicolaus’s, New, Castle, Vistula, Cobbler’s, and Sławkowska.\textsuperscript{126} Cracow’s location also made it ideal as a launching point for Casimir’s and his allies’ military endeavors.\textsuperscript{127} Casimir established a supreme court of German law on Wawel Hill as well to act as final arbiter for all the towns of his kingdom, rather than continuing to rely on the courts in Magdeburg.

Casimir demonstrated his power and wealth and the successes of Cracow by hosting the Congress of Cracow (\textit{Zjazd Krakowski} Latin: \textit{Convivium Maximum}) in September 1364. The purpose of the Congress was to ensure peaceful relations in Central Europe and to propose a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. Casimir’s guests included: the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV (\textit{Karel IV}), the King of Hungary, Louis I (\textit{Ludwik Węgierski}), the King of Denmark, Valdemar IV (\textit{Valdemar Atterdag}), the King of Cyprus, Peter I (\textit{Pierre I de Lusignan}), the Duke of Austria, Rudolf IV, the Duke of Pomerania, Bogislaw V (\textit{Bogusław}), the later Duke of Pomerania, Casimir IV (\textit{Kazimierz IV}), the Duke of Bavaria, Louis VI the Roman (\textit{Ludwig VI der Römer}), the later Duke of Bavaria, Otto V, and the Piast Dukes: Siemowit III of Mazovia, Bolko II of Świdnica (\textit{Bolko II Mały}), and Vladislaus II of Opole (\textit{Władysław Opolczyk}). Casimir welcomed the rulers with great fanfare and provided lodgings for them in the royal castle on Wawel Hill, while their retinues sought accommodations in the public houses of the city.\textsuperscript{128} The publicans benefited tremendously from such an unprecedented gathering as their establishments hosted foreigners and locals. The events consisted of many tourneys, games, and banquets, including a purported feast at the home of a prominent Cracowian merchant and banker, Mikołaj

\textsuperscript{126} Knoll, \textit{“A Pearl of Powerful Learning,”} 58.
\textsuperscript{127} Knoll, \textit{The Rise of the Polish Monarchy}, 129-130; 149.
\textsuperscript{128} Knoll, \textit{The Rise of the Polish Monarchy}, 217.
Wierzynek.\textsuperscript{129} The gathering showed that the tradition of hospitality of the Polish people first instilled in the earliest Piast rulers by Gallus Anonymous had continued to endure until the last king of the dynasty. Although a crusade against the Turks did not result from the negotiations, Casimir became a key figure in international relations.

Casimir III’s reign also marks a high period for the Church in Cracow. Casimir rebuilt St. Mary’s Basilica, built a new church for the Dominican Order, enlarged the order’s monastery, and extended the Franciscan monastery.\textsuperscript{130} The Wawel Cathedral continued to grow in importance as the site of coronations, as the necropolis of the monarchs, and as the place to display standards captured in battles. As the seat of the bishopric, Cracow attracted the clergy and religious orders. In the satellite town of Kazimierz, Casimir founded the Church of Corpus Christi (\textit{Bożego Ciała}) and the Church of St. Katherine’s (Św. Katarzyny), which he gave to the Augustinian Order having attracted them from Bohemia. Between the municipal agglomeration of Cracow, Kazimierz, and Kleparz, there were six parish schools and a cathedral school.\textsuperscript{131} The university, established in 1364 with papal approval, enhanced the education of the clerics and attracted students from other parts of Europe. In its earliest days, teachers and students met in parish schools, private homes, churches, the cathedral school, on Wawel Hill, and perhaps, in academic taverns.\textsuperscript{132} The complicated relationship between the public houses of the city and the university would continue from this point forward.

As Cracow became the favored residence of the rulers of Little Poland (\textit{Małopolska}), the concentration of wealth and power attracted the elite of Polish society. The nobility, in an effort

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\textsuperscript{129} Jan Długosz provides an exaggerated and erroneous account of the events one hundred years later. Długosz, \textit{The Annals of Jan Długosz}, 312-314.
\textsuperscript{130} Komorowski, \textit{Średniowieczne Domy}, 94.
\textsuperscript{131} Krzysztof Stopka, Andrzej Kazimierz Banach, and Julian Dybiec, \textit{The History of the Jagiellonian University} (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2000), 13.
\textsuperscript{132} Knoll, “A Pearl of Powerful Learning,” 3, 20.
\end{footnotesize}
to gain influence with the ruler, built and purchased residences as near the Wawel Castle as possible. The nobility also worked with the citizens of the city by investing in ever-larger building projects and enterprises, such as mining and metallurgy. The economic success of the city brought wealth to its residents, who began constructing ever-larger and ornate edifices. The wealthiest inhabitants (outside the nobility) were usually the merchants. The merchants conspicuously displayed their wealth by constructing ever-larger edifices around the main square. The wealthy elite also saw the public houses as valuable assets and they added these establishments to their holdings. The growing numbers of the elite enhanced Cracow’s reputation in the Polish lands and beyond.

Cracow’s economic success, monopolies on goods, and location at the center of valuable trade routes allowed the city to strengthen its ties with foreign marketplaces. Cracow’s staple rights to Hungarian copper helped reinforce ties with the Hungarian lands, which encouraged the trade in other goods, including wine, wax, horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs. The Cracowian merchants traded goods, such as copper, salt, and lead via Gdańsk for cloth from Flanders and England, thus supporting the south to north trade routes. The merchants traveling from beyond Cracow looked for the amenities of the public houses when they arrived in town. Wealthy residents also lent money to foreign rulers and the Polish king. In 1387, the Hanseatic League certified Cracow as a member of its league for the first time, but it was likely already a member prior to this. Casimir’s conquest of Red Ruthenia extended Polish contacts to the east and the Treaty of Trentschin with the king of Bohemia, John of Bohemia (Jan Lucemburský), ensured peace in the west. This secured trade routes that ran east from the Genoan colonies on the Black

133 Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 99.
134 Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 116; 152.
135 Stanisław Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel Średniowiecznego Krakowa (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), 358; Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 94.
Sea to the towns and cities of the German lands in the west. Traders brought Flemish and English cloth to the east in exchange for eastern cottons, silks, skins, furs, herbs, spices, and wax for the west. The economic growth of the city under Casimir added to the steady demand for the inns, taverns, and alehouses of the area.

**Cracow during the Reign of the Jagiellonians**

Casimir III the Great, despite his four marriages and many extramarital sexual escapades, did not produce a surviving male heir and designated his nephew, Louis I of Hungary (*Ludwik Węgierski*) (1326-1382), as the successor of the Polish Kingdom. Within two weeks of Casimir’s death on November 5, 1370, Louis received the Polish crown in a coronation ceremony held at Wawel Cathedral. Louis, however, was far more concerned with matters in his other kingdom—Hungary—and departed from his Polish lands by December, leaving his duties to his mother, the dowager queen of Hungary and sister to the recently-deceased king, Elizabeth of Poland (*Elżbieta Łokietkówna*) (1305-1380). The representatives of the city did not officially recognize Louis’s inheritance and Elizabeth’s rule on his behalf until issuing a document in 1375. Długosz’s account of Elizabeth’s rule points out the failings and discord during her rule and proclaims that “Poland falters and deteriorates.” This seems to be an exaggeration as Elizabeth held the kingdom together and continued to bestow privileges on Cracow. Elizabeth died on December 29, 1380 and Louis died two years later. Louis, like his uncle before him, died without a surviving male heir and left the Polish throne vacant. He had, however, secured an agreement

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with the szlachta to allow one of his three daughters to rule the Polish lands in the event of his death.

Jadwiga or Hedwig of Anjou (1373/4-1399) became King of Poland on October 16, 1384 at the age of ten in a ceremony at Wawel Cathedral. Various theories exist as to why Jadwiga received the title “king,” but these are beyond the scope of the dissertation.\(^{139}\) Regardless of the reason, the szlachta maneuvered to gain concessions for itself and to strengthen the Polish kingdom. Louis I had betrothed Jadwiga to William of Austria (c. 1370 – 15 July 1406) of the House of Habsburg, but the Polish nobles rejected the engagement. Instead, the nobles of Greater Poland favored a marriage to the Duke of Lesser Poland, Siemowit IV the Younger (Siemowit IV Młodszy) (ca.1353-1426), while the nobility of Lesser Poland preferred the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jogaila (Jagiello) (ca. 1352-1434) in order to create a polity capable of opposing the Teutonic Order. Jogaila agreed to marry Jadwiga and signed the Union of Krewo on August 14, 1385, in which he promised to accept Christianity for himself and his people, to pay compensation of 200,000 Florins to William of Austria for the termination of the engagement with Jadwiga, to attach (applicare) the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands to the Kingdom of Poland, and various other provisions. The successful negotiations of the nobility of Lesser Poland reinforced its position of strength in the Polish realm. On February 15, 1386, in Wawel Cathedral, Jogaila and his retinue received baptism and he choose Władysław as his baptismal name in honor of Jadwiga’s great-grandfather, Władysław I the Elbow-high. Władysław II married Jadwiga on February 18, and on March 4, became King of Poland by right of his wife (jure uxoris), thus marking the beginning of the Jagiellonian Dynasty. The new couple’s decision

\(^{139}\) Długosz, The Annals of Jan Długosz, 344.
to celebrate these occasions in Cracow further bolstered the city’s preeminence in the kingdom and brought more clients to the public houses therein.

Jadwiga, although she only ruled for fifteen years, left a legacy on the city of Cracow. With Władysław II, she founded the Gothic church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Kościół Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny) in 1395. The royal couple worked for over ten years to reestablish the university, which had suffered after Casimir III the Great’s death. With the permission of Pope Boniface IX in 1397, they added a faculty of theology to the plans to reestablish the institution in order to aid in the Christianization of Lithuania. On July 22, 1400, King Władysław II established the Collegium Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis in order to make his “realm illustrious through the brilliance of learned persons, thanks to whose knowledge we may remove the blemishes and the darkness, thereby making it the equal of other kingdoms.” The students and faculty of the university quickly became regular clients of the public houses throughout the city and they often ran afoul of the regulations. Their legal troubles, recorded in the Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis, provide an invaluable source for this study and their situations receive greater attention in the subsequent chapters. Shortly before her death on July 17, 1399, Jadwiga bequeathed her money, garments, and jewels to the university in order to ensure its survival. She also inspired countless legends about her pious and generous actions throughout the city. Following her death, a movement began for her canonization, but this did not occur until 1997.

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140 Markowski, Dzieje Wydziału Teologii, 8.
The importance of Cracow and its public houses continued to increase in the growing kingdom of Władysław II Jagiełło. He successfully ruled over the Polish and Lithuanian lands until his death on June 1, 1434. A year after his victory over the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in May 1410, the king led a ceremonial procession on foot along the royal route to commemorate the battle. The procession ended at Wawel Cathedral, where Władysław II celebrated mass and bestowed the standards of the defeated forces. To pay for the costs of the war, he had imposed taxes on the inhabitants of his lands and “if an innkeeper, miller or cottager cultivates a whole hide, he must pay two grosses; if half a hide one gross.” In 1412, he again led a subsequent procession along the royal route after regaining the royal objects from Hungary. Długosz describes the event: “For his entrance into Cracow, he [Władysław] orders the true crown of Poland, the orb and the scepter to be carried before him for all to see. Queen Anna comes out to meet him at the head of a great procession and there is general rejoicing.” In 1425, he led a subsequent procession to present “one of the nails used to nail Jesus to the cross”—a gift from “Cardinal Orsini, Bishop of Ostia”—to the Wawel Cathedral. He also periodically hosted “ceremonial tourneys and knightly combats with lances” in Cracow. Władysław made it a point to celebrate his achievements within his preferred city with its residents and did this on numerous occasions. Such occurrences called for grand celebrations and would draw large crowds to the city, which would utilize the public houses of the conurbation to celebrate the momentous events.

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145 It is not clear to whom Długosz is referring to. The Bishop of Ostia in 1425 was Jean-Allarment de Brogny, while Latino Orsini was never bishop of that sea and became a cardinal on December 20, 1448. Długosz, The Annals of Jan Długosz, 443.
Following the death of Władysław II Jagiełło, his eldest son, Władysław III of Varna (*Władysław III Warneńczyk*) (1424-1444), acceded to the Polish crown at the age of ten. Cracow remained the center of the realm despite the king’s interests in other regions. A group of advisors in the city headed by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki ruled on his behalf until he reached his majority and helped him secure the Hungarian throne in 1440. The counsellors also determined to divide the kingdom into administrative units to help with its governance: “Administrators are appointed for each part of the kingdom, except for Cracow, which is to have two: one to attend to the coinage, the other to the affairs of the capital and seat of the monarch.”¹⁴⁷ Cracow’s role in the administration of the kingdom was too important to leave to only one individual. The king spent the majority of his youth in Cracow, but on May 4, 1440, he moved to Buda in order to secure the Hungarian crown, which took an additional two years.¹⁴⁸ In 1443, Władysław III’s interests in Hungary brought him into conflict with the Ottoman Empire. After enjoying many early triumphs against the Turks, in 1444, the king lost his life at the Battle of Varna at the age of twenty.¹⁴⁹ According to Długosz, “The King is now in the middle of the fray, surrounded on all sides, and there he dies together with all his knights, a grievous loss to Christendom and Poland.”¹⁵⁰

Władysław III’s brother and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Casimir IV Jagiellon (*Kazimierz IV Andrzej Jagiellończyk*) (1427-1492), ascended to the throne of Poland in 1447. The coronation ceremony took place with great fanfare along the royal route and at Wawel Cathedral: “On the Sunday, after being robed in the castle, Casimir is crowned before the altar in the

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cathedral in the presence of Queen Sophia, the dukes of Mazovia, Szczecin, Racibórz and Oświęcim, a number of Ruthenian dukes and many of the barons of Lithuania, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The new king places on the altar a gift of 100 Florins, all of which, as is the law and custom, must go to the vicars of Cracow.”¹⁵¹ King Casimir then rode on horseback around the main square to honor the townspeople. This, like the processions of his father, would have been celebrated with much flourish throughout the city and in the public houses therein.

Cracow became Casimir’s main seat for ruling over Poland, Lithuania, and various other territories and this benefitted the public houses. He regularly entertained foreign dignitaries with “several days of tourneys and other spectacles.”¹⁵² In 1454, the city became the site of his lavish wedding to Elisabeth of Austria (Elżbieta Rakuszanka), daughter of Albert II of Habsburg.¹⁵³ The city also played a vital role in his economic and military strategy as it became the site for minting a new coin, the half-Grosze, which allowed him to finance a war against the Teutonic Order. The relationship between the king and Cracow, however, was not always without disturbances. On multiple occasions, the city refused to pay additional taxes to support the war against the Order. Among the imposed duties were levies on the consumption of wine and alcohol in the city (Czopowe or ciza Latin: Ternarii Ducillarem).¹⁵⁴ Some of the taxation records have survived in the Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum and these provide an invaluable source for this study. The collection of these taxes did not occur regularly, but only when the Sejm (diet) agreed to institute them because the

¹⁵⁴ Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, 86-89.
majority of the money supported the royal coffers. These dues fell heaviest on the public houses of the city as the primary purveyors of alcohol. Casimir also levied an additional tax on the public houses on June 7, 1463: “He agrees to postpone military action, but imposes an impost of six grosses on every corn-field, mill and tavern, which is to be paid by St. Bartholomew’s Day.” Chapter Two explores the financial obligations of the locales in greater detail. The city also erupted into a riot, in 1461, after a noble had abused an armorer—in direct defiance of the commands of the queen.

Under the first three Jagiellonian kings, the city continued to grow in importance and population, both of which benefitted the public houses. By the fifteenth century, the residents had constructed more than thirty Gothic churches. The city also attracted more religious orders, including the Canons Regular of the Lateran, the Bernardines, the Paulines, the Markites, and the Poor Clares. Diplomats regularly visited the conurbation and stayed at the public houses where they received the traditional Polish hospitality. In the fifteenth century, the university flourished and built additional edifices to meet demand, such as colleges and dormitories. Wealthy nobles and bishops continued to support the institution with donations and bequeathals. The city also gained its first printing houses and paper mills to meet the growing need for literature. Cracow continued to act as a key intermediary in the north-south and east-west trade routes. This included securing privileges from the merchants of Wrocław and of Lviv (Lwów). The city also gained the rights to establish salt works in Wielkopolska in 1478 to stop the import of salt from Saxony. Many Cracowian artisans and merchants amassed large

155 Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, 87.
159 In 1455, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki bequeathed a large sum to “students, the poor and the unfortunate, as well as to churches and monasteries.” Długosz, The Annals of Jan Długosz, 522.
fortunes and some invested in public houses to increase their revenue. The wealthy residents of the city also paid to beautify buildings, including the addition of the pentaptych high altar by Veit Stoss (Wit Stwosz) to St. Mary’s Church and the completion of its Gothic spire. The flourishing of the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social aspects of the city helped bolster the demand for the amenities of the public houses.

Cracow Reaches Its Zenith

Zygmunt I the Old (Stary) spent the majority of his long reign (r. 1506-1548) at his palace on Wawel Hill. He, of course, like his predecessors, traveled around his vast domains frequently, but he preferred the comforts of Cracow. The king welcomed delegations, convened the Sejm (diet), and held banquets and tournaments at his palace having rebuilt it in the latest Renaissance style. His hospitality during these gatherings rivaled the royal courts throughout Europe. The king’s fondness for the city ensured a reliable clientele base for the public houses therein. His preference to remain in the conurbation also influenced the gathering of the Sejm. The Sejm met at irregular intervals and at various locations upon the kings’ summoning. Cracow hosted twenty-nine Sejm sessions between 1493 and 1569—the most of any location. 161 During these gatherings, the king could not personally quarter all of the representatives and as a result, the public houses of the city filled with guests as nobles and their entourages sought suitable accommodations. The Sejm and the diplomats and their relationship with the public houses receives more attention in Chapter Four.

Under the rule of Zygmunt I and his second wife, Bona Sforza, Cracow turned to the polities of Italy for its cultural and aesthetical inspiration. Bona brought countless artisans,

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architects, artists, etc. from her native Milan, Florence, and other parts of the Italian lands. The king ordered the renovation of the castle on Wawel Hill and the creation of a new chapel, the Zygmunt Chapel (Kaplica Zygmuntowska), at the Wawel Cathedral. The wealthiest residents of the city—the nobility concentrated around Wawel Hill and the merchants and artisans around the Main Square—built and rebuilt residences and other buildings in an effort to emulate the monarch’s changing style.¹⁶²

Cracow reached its educational, religious, economic, cultural, and political apogee in the sixteenth century. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the conurbation of Cracow, Kleparz, and Kazimierz reached a population of about 30,000 people, including Poles, Germans, Italians, and various others.¹⁶³ The population of Lesser Poland reached over one million inhabitants at the end of the sixteenth century and 1.5 million by the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁴ The Diocese of Cracow consisted of around 924 parishes.¹⁶⁵ The increasingly literate population sought the newest Renaissance styles, arts, literature, and ideas. In order to meet the growing demand, the university began teaching more courses on the ancients, classical Latin, and even Greek and Hebrew. The surging demand for the classics also brought an interest in the use of the vernacular. As a result, the university attracted more students and faculty many of whom turned to the public houses for their needs and wants. The Main Square also bustled with locals and foreigners buying everyday and luxury goods arriving from all parts of the Polish kingdom and beyond. These developments ensured that the public houses of the city bustled with a large and varied clientele base.

¹⁶² Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 101.
¹⁶³ Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 98.
¹⁶⁵ Kracik and Ryś, Dziesięć Wieków, 100.
During this time, the residents rebuilt and renovated public buildings in the newest architectural styles, such as the Baroque. Bishops, such as Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535), followed the king’s lead by renovating and building new palaces, supporting artists and poets, and living luxuriously. The growing population continued to increase the demand for the services of public houses and for alcohol. According to Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Sławiński, “In the dynamically developing city, the demand for beer did not decrease.”166 The residents also updated and built new defensive structures, such as the Barbican, to accommodate for and defend against the use of gunpowder.167 Following a fire in 1556, the city rebuilt the large cloth hall (Sukiennice) in the center of the Main Square in order to better accommodate its position as a major trading center.168 In 1565-1566, Cracow invested heavily to construct a new arsenal to better protect the growing city.169

The decision by the king and queen to look to the Italian lands as a source of inspiration influenced the public houses of the city. Rebuilding the city in the latest architectural trends required skilled craftsmen and a large source of laborers, all of whom would need provisions and accommodations. The intellectuals of this era, such as Ioannes Dantiscus, Korybut Koszyrski, Andrzej Krzycki, Mikolaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, and various others turned to the inns, taverns, and alehouses as the location of their activities, the place fueling their ambitions, and the settings for their works. Their group, known as the Guzzlers and Gobblers (Bibones et Commedones), with the blessing of the king, earned a reputation for their tippling in the public houses throughout the city. Some intellectuals and authorities, however, saw the locales as detrimental

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166 Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Sławiński, Krakowskie Słodownie Przełomu Wieku XVI i XVII (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2010), 6.
167 Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 97.
168 Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 100.
169 Komorowski, Średniowieczne Domy, 100.
to Cracowian and Polish society and their writings receive more attention in Chapter Five. With the dawn of a golden age and a population of 30,000 inhabitants all with unique needs and desires, the public houses of Cracow would have been important centers for political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social developments.

By the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, Cracow began to lose its position of preeminence among the Polish cities, especially, when the preferred residency of the kings moved to Warsaw indefinitely in 1609—although the process had begun earlier. The last Jagiellonian king, Zygmunt II Augustus (*August*) (1520-1572), preferred Vilnius, Warsaw, or Knyszyn to Cracow and visited the city only when formality dictated. Shortly after the elaborate funeral ceremony of his father in 1548, he left Cracow for Vilnius and returned sparingly thereafter. His return and other formal ceremonies would be occasions with great fanfare, from which the public houses would benefit, but these were seldom events. Other cities, such as Gdańsk and Lviv, also challenged Cracow’s hegemony in the Polish kingdom. The nobility wanted to maintain a favored position near the king and therefore, the nobles not associated with Lesser Poland moved and brought their wealth to Warsaw. Zygmunt II died without a male heir and the nobility took advantage by electing, in Warsaw, the subsequent kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania. In 1574, the city council posted its first negative balance in Cracow’s budget.\(^{170}\) The loss of capital prevented the city from modernizing its buildings and defensive structures.\(^{171}\) The diminishing importance of the conurbation also adversely affected the public houses as the demand for the services of the publicans dwindled. Although their numbers decreased, the establishments would endure. The definitive end to Cracow’s primacy occurred in the 1650s, first, with an epidemic in 1651-1652 and finally, in 1655, with the

\(^{170}\) Noga, *Krakowska Rada Miejska*, 54.
\(^{171}\) Komorowski, *Średniowieczne Domy*, 102.
occupation of the city by the Swedes during the Swedish Deluge (Potop Szwedzki) (1655-1660).\textsuperscript{172}

Conclusions

The historical events shaping Cracow directly and indirectly affected the public houses of the city. The inns, taverns, and alehouses were intimately intertwined in the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social developments of the city. These aspects also influenced population growth or decay of the conurbation and this affected the clientele base of the establishments. The locales relied on a dependable clientele base and they welcomed patrons from all ranks of Cracowian society. The rulers of the city implemented legislation that helped regulate this varied populace and the places they frequented. Policies, such as taxation established by the king and city officials, directly influenced the public houses, while others, like regulations concerning verbal and physical violence, were intended for the greater population, but affected the publicans along with the patrons and their behavior. These rulers also established a tradition of hospitality that was reflected in the public houses. The hospitality, first emphasized by the Piasts, continued under the Jagiellonians and despite the end of their reign, has remained in the Polish lands to the present day. Chapter Two looks at the inns, taverns, and alehouses of Cracow more closely, including at the hospitality of the locales and many other aspects.

\textsuperscript{172} Komorowski, \textit{Średniowieczne Domy}, 103.
Chapter Two: The Public Houses of Cracow

The urban context of the public houses of Cracow only provides one important element to fully understanding the locales. The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the public houses by examining various fundamental aspects of these establishments. Public houses were complex institutions which were integral to everyday life in the city. The Jagiellonians and the rulers of Cracow were keenly aware of the importance of the locales to the urban environment and established legislation directly or indirectly affecting these places, which the publicans had to delicately navigate to ensure effective operations. The chapter begins with the locations and distribution of the public houses within the city walls. It next considers the edifices, including the requirements for beer production, followed by an examination of the city’s most renowned public house—the Piwnica Świdnicka. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the activities of the establishments, such as the food and drinks consumed there, the lodging offered, the other services provided, the regulations implemented by the Jagiellonian rulers and the city officials governing the places and people, and the expenses of maintaining such enterprises. While it is impossible to divorce the publicans from the public houses and they appear throughout this chapter, they will receive greater attention in Chapter Three.

The Public Houses

Locations

It is impossible to determine the exact year or location of the first public house created in the area now known as Cracow. It is likely, however, that the establishment of some form of a public house would occur alongside the concentration of people in a given area—in this case
around Wawel Hill. The first locale may have been as simple as a homeowner selling or trading surplus drink and food and possibly providing accommodations in their edifice regularly. The majority of the first inhabitants of this area would have dedicated their lives to food production and would, therefore, be self-sufficient and have little need for certain services offered at the public house. The establishment would provide them, nevertheless, the opportunity to gather in a specific area to socialize. Conversely, not all the village dwellers and migrants, like Ibrahim ibn Yaqub at-Turtushi and his retinue, could satisfy their needs for food, drink, lodging, and other amenities on their own and they would seek the services of a public house. The growth of the settlement, later city, as a political, economic, religious, academic, cultural, and social center—as is clear from Chapter One—attracted people from near and afar for any number of reasons. Many of these individuals would also seek to satisfy their basic needs and their desires at the public houses of Cracow.

Public houses during the reign of the Jagiellonians were located throughout the city on nearly every road within the walls. Map 1 provides the specific locations of some of the public houses within the city walls. This study shows that city authorities did not relegate the establishments to beyond the city walls as some scholars have suggested.¹ This was also the case with malt houses and breweries as Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Sławiński have shown, with over thirty-four malters and brewers identified between 1300-1333 and over sixty-seven establishments located within the walls by the end of the seventeenth century.² There was no predetermined organization for the location of the public houses and they were situated on

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² Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Sławiński, *Krakowskie Słodownie Przełomu Wieku XVI i XVII [Cracowian Malters at the Turn of the 16th and 17th Centuries]* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2010).
various roads among other buildings. They did not have a designated area of the city, like the cobblers or butchers. They were, however, less likely to be located on the main square and closer to the square because those buildings were some of the most expensive in Cracow and the cost was prohibitive to publicans. The Piwnica Świdnicka was one of the exceptions to this as the city monopolized the best location within the walls.

The most extensive evidence for the locations of the public houses comes from the tax collection records, the *Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum*. When the king requested the funds, a city official regularly went to the public houses throughout the city to collect the levies. The official registered the collections in an accounting book organized by city streets. The records show that there were public houses located on the following streets: *Sutorum, Sthephani, Judeorum, Slakowiensis, Joannis, Floriani, Hospitalis, Swidniczensis, Nicolai, Castrensis*, and *Anna*. The distribution of public houses was in all parts of Cracow, but the establishments were concentrated in the northern part of the city. This may be due, in part, to the fact that much of the traffic to Cracow passed through the gates on St. Florian’s Street and Cobbler’s Street in the northern part of the city and the publicans tried to take advantage of a favorable location to attract customers. The publicans brewing beer also preferred this area because of the more reliable access to the city’s water system. The public houses on St. Florian’s and Castle Street had the added benefit of being along the royal route. As mentioned in Chapter One, royal processions for coronations, military triumphs, burials, etc. passed from St. Florian’s Church in Kleparz, through St. Florian’s Gate, down St. Florian’s Street, into the square, up Castle Street, around Wawel Hill, and concluded at the cathedral on the hill. The throngs of revelers or mourners would gather along this route and seek the services
of the public houses in these areas to help them celebrate or grieve. Many of the attendees would also arrive from beyond the city and would seek the other amenities offered by the establishments.

The *Acta Advocatalia Cracoviensis* helps reaffirm the distribution of the public houses. The burgomaster and his officials summoned individuals to the city hall from the different parts of the city for legal proceedings and the *Acta Advocatalia Cracoviensis* is a record of this litigation. The scribes arranged the books by the roads on which individuals lived and it is possible to see generally where the publicans came from within the city. The records help confirm the locations of the public houses listed in the *Exactionem Ducillarem Tabernatorum* and add other locations. The *Advocatalia* corroborates that there were public houses located on the following streets: *Sutorum, Sthephi, Judeorum, Slawcoviensis, Johannis, Floriani, Hospitalis, Nicolai, Castrensis*, and *Anna*. The records, likewise, show that there were public houses on *Wislensis* and *Fratrum* Streets and on the *Circulus*. This shows a distribution of public houses throughout most of the roads of the city with a concentration in the north.

Other sources help narrow down the location of a few public houses beyond street names by referring to other buildings. For example, in the *Acta Joannis Ocieski* of the *Metryka Koronna*, a court case in 1550 dealing with the release of a stone house from a lien clarified the exact building by explaining its position in relation to other edifices. The building in question was on St. Anne’s Street between the homes of a Jostus Gliasz and the deceased Hieronym Beem near an inn.³ The *Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones (Księga Wiertelnica Krakowska)* are the inspection accounts of engineers or inspectors (*wiertelnicy* or *capitanei quartalienses*).

visiting various buildings throughout the city. The accounts likewise refer to the location of
public houses by the street and often, by the edifice’s relation to other structures. These records
provide the best information on narrowing down the location of a given public house. Despite
these records, however, the exact locations often remain ambiguous.

The Buildings

The physical edifices of the public houses varied depending on the roles of the publicans.
Publicans brewing beer on the premises needed sufficient space for all stages of the brewing
process. Beer production required malting, brewing, and fermenting. These processes were
common throughout medieval and early modern Europe and brewers created variety through the
implementation of ingredients. From one hundred kilograms of grain, a publican or a brewer
would make 78.6 kilograms of malt, from which there would be between 400 to 432 liters of
beer.\footnote{Andrzej Wyczański, \textit{Studia nad Konsumpcją Żywności w Polsce w XVI i Pierwszej Połowie XVII W.} [Studies on Food Consumption in Poland in the 16th and the First Half of the 17th Centuries] (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), 29.} Malting artificially exposes barley, wheat, and other grains to moisture causing the raw
grains to germinate and sprout. The germination develops malt enzymes, which break down
starch and create sugars. The publican would employ a wooden, sometimes stone, trough or tub
to allow the grain to fully soak in water. The publican then spread the germinating grain on a
clay or wooden threshing floor for seven to ten days.\footnote{Dryja and Sławiński, \textit{Krakowskie Słodownie}, 8.} Next, the publican dried the grains in a
ventilated room over twenty-four to forty-eight hours and removed the sprouts or rootlets. The
grain then swelled and matured for four to six weeks in storage.\footnote{Dryja and Sławiński, \textit{Krakowskie Słodownie}, 13.} After the grain matured, the
publican kibbled or coarsely ground the grains to prepare them for brewing. In order to do this,
the publican often took the granules to one of two designated mills—the Kutlowski Mill located
near St. Nicholas’ portcullis or the Stone Mill situated near the Cobbler’s Gate. The publican did not grind the grain entirely into flour because this would adversely affect the clarity of the beer. The individual then boiled the malted and kibbled grain in water with other ingredients for one to three hours in a cauldron to create wort. The publican next cooled the wort, strained it into a vat, added yeast to the mixture, and allowed the liquid to ferment for two weeks or more. The fermentation process created the psychoactive component of alcoholic beverages: ethanol. If a publican chose to carry out the entire process on site, they would need sufficient space, which would be a costly investment.

The public houses of Cracow were usually buildings of modest size and simple construction. The establishments that also functioned as malt houses and breweries were slightly different from the public houses that did not because they needed sufficient space to carry out the processes. Most of the edifices were made from wood, with some constructed partially or entirely of brick or stone. For example, in an engineering account from August 23, 1568, Matus Kaszuba and his wife Anna, and Zygmunt Gentcz, taverners on St. Florian’s Street, had an adjoining brick wall and other brick walls in their edifice, while the remaining walls were wooden. The buildings normally had two levels: a ground floor and a basement or cellar (piwnica). Larger public houses often had an upper level as well. Publicans plastered the rooms

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9 “Wiertelnicy przysięgli zeznali, iż przyszli na Tworzińską ulicę blisko bramy miejskiej do narożnego domu pozostały wdowy nieboszczyka Matusa Kaszuby karczmarza. / A tak naprzód zeznali, iż widzieli przyszedszy na zadź skoro za poslednim sztokiem od przedniego domu murowanego ścianę pograniczną między Zygmuntem Gentcem karczmarzem wzdłuż na dwa i na dwadzieścia lokcia nowo murowaną. / Potym zeznali, iż też widzieli jeszcze połowicę od tej to pogranicznej ściany podle przedniego domu, iż jest zupełna wzgórę na dwa gady wymurowana. A druga połowica ku tylowi, tę widzieli, iż jeszcze wzgórę blisko trzech lokci nie domurowana, tak iżby się z drugą połowicą ściany na wysokość zrównać mogło.” Krystyna Jelonk-Litewka, Aleksander Litewka, and Łukasz Walczy, eds., *Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones 1568-1577 (Księga Wiertelnica Krakowska 1568-1577)* (Kraków: Tow. Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1997), 44.
in which brewing occurred with clay in order to prevent the structure from catching fire. The brewing occurred on the ground floor, while the fermentation and aging of the beer took place in the cellar. An attic provided storage space for the grains and hops. The publican used a chimney to ventilate the room from the steam and smoke created in the brewing process. Chimneys were made of stone, brick, or wicker or wood plastered with clay. In the case of publican Zygmunt Gentcz, his public house had two brick chimneys: “They also testified further, that on the first floor of said Zygmunt Gentcz’s [public house] they saw in the aforementioned dividing wall two chimneys, one next to the other, made of brick at a depth of three-fourths of an ell.” The beer-making process also required water and the public house would either have a well or a connection to the city water system. The lot on which the edifice stood at times included an outhouse, a shed, and/or a garden.

A publican needed an assortment of equipment in order to brew on the premises of the public house. The central piece of equipment in the brewing area was the cauldron, which was used for boiling water and cooking the malted grains and other ingredients, such as hops with the water to make wort. The cauldron stood on an iron frame known as a wolf (wilk) allowing a wood fire to burn below the large vessel. The publican used large vats to store wort or beer after the cooking and fermentation processes. In order to cool the liquid, the brewer employed a large wooden or stone trough. Other items used in the brewing process and found in public houses, included tubs, small vessels, troughs, vats, barrels, buckets, ladles, and various others.

10 Stanisław Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie” [“Beer in Medieval Cracow”], Rocznik Krakowski 1, (1898): 41.
11 “Nadto jeszcze zeznali, iż na pierwszym piętrze u tegoż Zygmunta Gentcza widzieli w tejże pograniczny ścienie dwa kominy, jeden podła drugiego, na głębiam na trzy ćwierci łokcia murowane, z których tych to dwóch kominów jest jeden na łokieć wszyrz, a drugi na pół łokcia, a ty kominy są w całym murze wzięte i na całym murze wzgórę wymurowane.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 44.
12 Dryja and Sławiński, Krakowskie Słodownie, 15.
13 Dryja and Sławiński, Krakowskie Słodownie, 15.
14 Dryja and Sławiński, Krakowskie Słodownie, 17.
Near the end of the sixteenth century, Stanisław Górecki, a publican, purchased a building on St. Anne’s street across from the church which allowed him to malt, brew, and accommodate guests in a single edifice. The building had the necessary space and equipment for the processes, but needed repair. According to the engineering accounts, “We came to the house of the deceased Jakub Frant on St. Anne’s Street, there we saw that the roof in many places had holes, through which water leaked.” After entering, the engineers noted that on certain “walls the plaster had fallen off,” other “walls had holes,” and some “walls were leaning.” In the malt room “the ceiling had holes in it, through which water leaked” and the brewery had “supports which had rotted from the bottom as did the walls.” Górecki also needed to replace the trough and two vats in the brewing room because they were “old and rotten.” The cellar required maintenance because it allowed water to seep in “causing the beer to sour and the foundation to deteriorate.” He would need to invest heavily for the repairs, but the new location would allow him to consolidate the beer-making processes and accommodations under one roof, therefore,

15 “Naprzód przyszlichmy w dom nieboszczyka Jakuba Franta na Ś. Anny ulicy leżący, tamechmy widzieli dach na wielu miejscach barzo zdziurawiony, przez który barzo ciecze.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 177.
16 “Item widzieliśmy w izdebe tramy pogniłe i ścianę w kącie, z której glina odpadła, że do niej ciecze. / Item w browarze widzieliśmy koryto pod kadziami pogniłe i spróchniałe, także kadzi dwie wielkie, młota i brzeczana, stare i pognile, prze co szkoda niemała. / Item widzieliśmy ścianę w browarze i w słodowni, która się wszystka pochylila ku tyłowi domu Szamotulczyka i Grudzieckiego. / Item widzieliśmy też w słodowni dach zdziurawiony, do której barzo ciecze. / Item widzieliśmy też w sieni ku zadzi i w sieni na przodku dyłowanie z tarąc na kilku miejscach pognile i popowane.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 177.
17 “Item widzieliśmy też w słodowni dach zdziurawiony, do której barzo ciecze.” “Item u browaru słup pogniły z spodku i ściana także. Tośmy wszystko widzieli i oglądali, i tak jest wszystko.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 177.
18 “Item w browarze widzieliśmy koryto pod kadziami pogniłe i spróchniałe, także kadzi dwie wielkie, młota i brzeczana, stare i pognile, prze co szkoda niemała.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 177.
19 “Item widzieliśmy też w piwnicy, że się woda dobywa z ziemie źródła, i ustawnie woda jest, prze którą niemała szkoda w piwie bywa i pio wkaśnieże, co też gruntowi szkodzi.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 177.
reducing the costs in the long term. The public house later passed from the Górecki family to the Taczyków family, who were also taverners.\textsuperscript{20}

Publicans, who did not brew beer on the premises did not need the space for the processes, maintained slightly different public houses. The buildings were also constructed with wood, stone, brick, or a combination of the materials. Wooden beams supported and reinforced the structure. Wooden gutters helped divert water away from the foundation. They commonly had two floors—a ground floor and a basement—linked by wooden stairs, but could also have an upper floor with rooms. These public houses usually had a large hall on the ground floor where guests could eat and drink. The patrons sat on benches or chairs next to tables. If the building did not have a kitchen, the hearth would be in the large hall. A kitchen provided space to cook for family and guests. An attic provided additional space for storing goods, while the cellar provided space for storage in a cooler environment. The outhouse and other storage buildings, like a shed, were located in the yard. Some public houses also had a stable where travelers with horses could accommodate their animals. A place to rest the animals was a necessary accommodation for individuals traveling with horses. For example, in a letter to Ioannes Dantiscus on August 12, 1535 from Cracow, the Bishop of Cracow, Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535), informs Dantiscus that members of his household will be staying at an inn in Kleparz and keeping their horses there.\textsuperscript{21}

The aforementioned Kiezarowski House run by Marcin Przybyła on St. John’s Street, provides an example of a typical public house in the city of Cracow. The engineering record describes the edifice and explains the repairs that the building needed. The engineers began their

\textsuperscript{20} Dryja and Sławiński, \textit{Krakowskie Słodownie}, 30-31.

inspection on the ground floor: “We first came to the hall on the ground floor, that is what he showed us, and we saw the necessary construction. Namely: the hall is wooden, with a length of fourteen ells and half a quarter [8.28 m], and with a width of thirteen ells [7.62 m]. In this hall there are five windows, three looking onto the courtyard, and two onto the street.” The hall needed structural repair because the corners and the walls were rotting and disintegrating. Eight wooden beams supported the upper floor. The upper floor had rooms with windows, but needed repairs because the roof had holes and the walls and beams were rotting. The basement had four brick walls, but these had holes in them. The stairs linking each of the floors were all “very bad.” There was also a stable on the premises, but this too needed repair: “We also saw above the stable, that the roof was bad, with holes.” The masonry walls of the stables were likewise cracking and needed mending. The full translated engineering record of the Kiezarowski Public House is available in Appendix C.

There were various items that were common throughout the public houses of the city. There were vessels for keeping beer, wine, or vodka, usually barrels or jugs, in anticipation of service. The publicans used various tools to serve the beverages, including ladles and cups. They also had various tools for food preparation: pots, pans, cauldrons, colanders, strainers, sieves, troughs, scales, knives, and skewers. The patrons consumed the drinks in vessels, for instance

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22 “I przyszliśmy napierwej do izby tu na dole, tamże nam ukazał, i widzieliśmy potrzebne budowanie. To jest: ta izba jest drzewiana, a jest w długo lołci czternaśćce i pół ćwierci, a na szyży jest lołci trzynaśćce. A w tej izbie jest okien pięć, trzy okna są na dwór do domu, a dwie są na ulicę.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, *Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones*, 108.

23 “Item na piętrze i nad izbą widzieliśmy dach dziurawiony, miejscami okrom na izbą, co stron nowo pobito część dachu od ulice, a część od dworu domowego. Widzieliśmy komnatę nad sklepem, okna do niej od zadzi dwie, w tej komnacie piętro nowo położone i tramy też polepione przed tą komnatą. Piętro nad sienią, nad tym piętrem tramy, których końce spróchniały w murze, aż na stemplach leży tam, na którym tramie leżą ony tramy spróchniałe pod stychem.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, *Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones*, 108.


cups, mugs, or goblets. They also ate from plates and bowls with their hands or with knives and spoons. Most interiors had benches and chairs for seating and tables, often covered with a tablecloth, where the individuals could consume food and drink, as well as play games. There were other storage units in the buildings, such as chests, cupboards, and baskets of varying sizes. Many publicans also had the weapons necessary for defending their assigned segment of wall or designated tower, including crossbows, swords, helmets, and shields.\textsuperscript{26}

Some wealthier publicans were able to amass a collection of valuable items. Various wills and testaments speak to these possessions. For example, on December 13, 1557, Stanislaus Wolski, a citizen and taverner of Cracow, with his wife, Margaritha of Cracow, enumerated their possessions in front of multiple witnesses. The items included:

Forty Polish Marcs in coins, a silver gilded belt with a flat buckle with a value of twenty-two Florins. Also, four medium drinking cups, eight plates, a jug large enough for one barrel of wine, all made of tin, with an estimated value of of three Marcs. Also, two wavy and guilded silver knots. Also, a necklace gilded in silver with eight pearls and four gems affixed in pairs. Lastly, an old oak chest in which all these things are saved.\textsuperscript{27}

In addition to these costly items, Margaritha also had one hundred Florins in coin from her dowry.\textsuperscript{28} It is not clear how Stanislaus and Margaritha acquired such expensive items and this seems to be an exceptional case among publicans.

\textsuperscript{26}Rkps 84, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracowiensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 195; Rkps 86, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracowiensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 33, 303; Rkps 88, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracowiensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 64.


\textsuperscript{28}“Et in recompensam huius pecuniae aliariusque rerum supra nominatarum consignavit eidem uxori suae Margaritae pro dotalicio centum florenos in moneta, quod eciam prius fecit circa contractum matrimonii coram his,
Other court cases also suggest that some publicans amassed significant wealth. In the *Księgi Wójtowskie*, lawsuits show that certain publicans were able to bear the burden of large debts owed to them without going bankrupt. For example, in 1476, Laurence, a publican, and Nicolaus Nager accused Bart Czech of owing 120 Florins for unknown services or commodities. Bart admitted to the arrears and satisfied the obligation in full. In other court cases, certain publicans dealt with large amounts of money, suggesting that their wealth was quite significant.

The public houses of Cracow had various names and as was common throughout medieval and early modern Europe, drew inspiration from nature and their surroundings. The sources do not usually refer to the actual names of the establishments, but there are glimpses. For example, there was a public house which served wine for two Grosze located under a mint near St. Anne’s gate known as the Mint (*Mynica*). In a document from the royal chancellery issued on August 29, 1555, regarding the donation of a tavern in the northern city of Elbląg, the establishment was known as the Coal Tavern (*tabernae Wengel dictae*). A court case from 1481-1482, placed the Stone Tavern (*Tabernam Lapidalem* or *Kamienna Karczma*) at the center of a dispute between Thomas, publican, and a certain Matias. This may have been the same public house mentioned in a court case in 1489 referred to as the Stone Public House (*Celarium Lapide*). Some locales were named after animals, such as the Hare Tavern (*Karczma Zając*).
Others were named after plants and fungi, including the Little Nettle Tavern (Pokrzywka Karczma) or the Mushroom Tavern (Karczma Grzybowa). The records also refer to public houses by the name of the publicans. For example, from a court case in the Acta Rectoralia in 1540, in which Laurence, a student, struck Albert, a fellow student, with a sword in the head after an argument in Blazek’s Tavern.  

Marcin Przybyła maintained the aforementioned public house called the Kiezarowski House located on St. John’s Street. While an engineering account from 1576, records the inspection of the Byezanowski House named after the owners of the building, Ioannis Szolthisek and Ursula Byezanowszczanka, on St. Nicholas Street. Naming the public house after a publican or publican family gave the individual(s) some renown and helped preserve the family’s legacy.

The publicans hung different emblems above their doors or outside their establishments to signify the type of drink offered in the establishment. The insignia or objects hung from iron rods fixed either in the wall of the edifice or in a post standing in front of the building. The publicans also displayed wood- or stone-carved images on the structure, usually above the

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34 “Personaliter constituti discreti J. Cantor et Albertus studens, ambo a ludo sancti Spiritus, gravi in querela suam violentam et enormem laesionem coram domino rectore proposuerunt contra Laurencium etc. ab eadem schola studentem, qui ausu temerario evaginando gladio intrantibus illis scholam pacifice, primum Alberto student dedit gladio alapam per caput, quod supinus in terram cecidit, et postea cantorem, quem non bonum, immo wafrum, Mazovitam, synkophantam et id genus verbis inhonestis in taberna apud Blazek, propinatorem cervisiae, secum bibens appellavit, eundemque cantorem petentem iam scholas gracia quietis et requiendi, ubi praenominatus Laurencius cum suis complicibus ex nulla causa merita cantorem tanquam seniorem chorus gladio, pugnis, capillacionibus illum verberavit, [et] vulnera livida illius faciei inflixit ita, quod vix ad cameram suam evasit, postea fores seu hostium ad cameram praeecti cantoris fregere voluit, volens satisfacere suae propriae voluntati.” Stanislaus Estreicher, ed., Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis 1536-1580 (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1909), 72.

35 “Wyrtelnicy przysięgli zeznali, iż przyszli do domu przezwiskiem Kiezarowski, opatrnego Marcina Przybyła karczmarza, który dom leży na ulicy Ś. Jana, między domem potomków nieboszczyka Bartla Szarfenbergera z jednej strony, a przycznicą, która idzie ku Ś. Floriana ulicy, z drugiej strony.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartalsium Recognitions et Divisiones, 108.

36 Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartalsium Recognitions et Divisiones, 256.

entrance. A panicle or bundle of cereal grain branches marked a place serving ale or beer; a grape vine or vine wreath represented a location for wine; and a cross or “X” indicated a locale for mead. This helped advertise the public house by giving potential customers a clear indication of the services offered in a given establishment. The signs, as Michael Camille has described for medieval Paris, may have also included tippling, hospitality, and religious motifs, such as scenes from the lives of Saint Julian or Saint Martin, patron saints of public houses. Travelers arriving from near and far could recognize these emblems as they were common to drinking and hospitality establishments throughout Europe.

Piwnica Świdnicka

The city of Cracow owned and operated perhaps the most renowned public house in the conurbation known as the Piwnica Świdnicka (Cellarium Swidniczense or Szwynyczka Pywnyczza) located on the Main Square in the townhall (ratusz), next to the dungeon. Many of the cities in or influenced by the German lands, such as Wrocław (Wrotizlava), operated public houses (cellarium or rathskeller) in the lower level of their townhall at this time. Cracow had exclusive rights on beer imported to the city from Świdnica—regarded as some of the finest in central Europe—which it served exclusively in the Piwnica. Although the city purchased its first brewery from three Jewish brothers—Israel, Canaan, and Abraham—in 1399 for forty-three Grzywien and twenty-four Grosze and invested six Grzywien and twenty Grosze for repairs, it

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39 Bogatyński, Walka z Pijaństwem, 10.
40 Camille, “Signs of the City,” 1-36.
did not sell its own beer at the Piwnica. Instead, it used its monopoly on beer from Świdnica to earn a larger profit.

The alehouse began operations by the late fourteenth century, perhaps, as early as the construction of the first town hall building. In 1456, Casimir IV Jagiellon, in an effort to hinder Silesian trade, issued an edict banning the import of beer from beyond the borders of the Polish lands. The punishment for an infraction of the edict was five Marcs. This ended the importation of beer from Świdnica and forced the Piwnica to shutter. Casimir’s successor, Jan Olbracht, however, reversed the ban in 1501 and the city regained its monopoly on beer from Świdnica and the alehouse once again began serving patrons. According to the edict, “We give and grant our Council of Cracow the unimpeded importation and propination of beer from Świdnica.” Propination in this case being the exclusive rights to sell the beer in the conurbation. This lasted until 1540, when the city council decided to close the alehouse for reasons of morality. The alehouse seems to have been an occasionally rowdy place as it also drew the ire of the sixteenth-century reformer Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski. According to him, “Idle people will linger there all day, drinking and feeding themselves very debaucherously with the harlots.”

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41 Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 49.
43 “Consules Civitatis Cracouensis cum thabernatoribus ipsam ceruisiam et tociens quociens reperta fuerit, penam quinquem marcarum ipsi Consules a propinante recepere debent.” Piekośiński, Kodeks Dyplomatyczny, 227.
44 “Prefatis Consulibus Cracouensiibus nostris liberam ductionem et propinacionem Ceruisie Swidnicensis dedimus et donauimus.” Piekośiński, Kodeks Dyplomatyczny, 302.
45 “Nunc porro dum clarissimus huius urbis senatus magis Ciuitatis decorem et honestatem, quam turpe lucrum spectat, ac omnem scurrilitatem et peccandi licentiam prohibere conatur, mauult in praesentiarum hoc ipsum cellarium ex aliquot marcarum annuo censu locatum esse, quam ad tanta sclera, quae in dies ibi committebantur, conniuenter consentire.” Piekośiński, Kodeks Dyplomatyczny, 723.
46 “Ludzie próżnujący cały dzień w nich przeleżą, piją, a żywią się z nierzędnicami bardzo rozpustnie.” Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, O Naprawie Rzeczypospolitej: Z Przekładu Cyprjana Bazylika (r. 1577) (Warszaw: E. Wende i S-Ka, 1914), 43.
There is some merit to the claims that this institution was scene to raucous episodes, as suggested by medieval writers and present-day Polish scholars, but few court cases speak to this situation and their claims seem to be an exaggeration.\textsuperscript{47} There are only two cases dealing with the Piwnica in the 111 years (1469-1580) of extant university court records. On May 14, 1535, Catherine of Wiślica was involved in an altercation in the Piwnica, which resulted in “an occasion of defamation, other injurious words, and enormous wounds” in addition to the destruction of a red Genoese tunic and the spilling of Świdnica beer.\textsuperscript{48} In February 1538, Rupert of Francia and Sebastian Vieloglowski had a violent confrontation in the establishment, which spilled into the streets. Sebastian:

On the Sunday that has passed, coming to the tavern called Piwnica Świdnica at night, before or after the forth hour of the night, with others, about whom Rupert had knowledge, caused some violence, slapping first, in the inn, where they propinate beer; he [Rupert], afterwards, departed or fled from the tavern. When, after, said Vieloglowski with others left from said tavern towards the palace, the aforementioned Rupert appeared to them waiting in a room. Again, Vieloglowski and the others struck him, indeed he [Rupert] saw him [Vieloglowski] with an unsheathed knife/sword. And in those places—his hand and his head—are enormous wounds.\textsuperscript{49}

The rector was unable to make a ruling on the case and decided to schedule subsequent hearings.\textsuperscript{50} The resolution, however, is not known as subsequent cases do not appear in the records. In the 2,239 lawsuits administered by the burgomaster and his council between 1442-

\textsuperscript{47} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie.”
\textsuperscript{48} Wladislaus Wisłocki, ed., \textit{Acta rectoralia alvae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno 1469} (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Craoviensis, 1893), 808.
\textsuperscript{49} “Die Mercurii antepenultima februarii. Ad propocitionem Ruperiti ex Francia contra Sebastianum Vyeloglowsky, personaliter per sapienciam citatum, qui proposuit, quod die dominico nunc transacto [ille] veniens ad tabernam dictam szwynyczka pywnyczza nocte, hora quarta noctis citra vel ultra, cum aliis, quorum ipse noticiam habuit, fecerunt violenciam, primum in hospitem, qui propinat cerevisiam, eundem maxillando; qui posthac discessit sive auflugit de taberna. Ubi posthac dictus Vyeloglowsky cum aliis exiverunt ad palacium dictae tabernae, ubi dictus Ruperius ibidem manens aperiebat sibi ad cameram. Et interim percuciebant in eum Vyeloglowsky et alii, vidit enim eundem cum gladio evaginato. Et ibidem laesus est enomiter ad manum et ad caput.” \textit{Acta Rectoralia}, 37.
\textsuperscript{50} “Ubi tamen Sebastians praedictus, existens tunc in proincyctu viae, peciet sibi differri terminum hinc ad duas septimanas, dominus tamen rector de consensus partis prorogavit. Praesentibus eximiis viris doctore Nicolao, canonico Cracoviensi, doctore Szanok et aliis.” \textit{Acta Rectoralia}, 37.
1443 of the *Księgi Wójtowskie*, none explicitly refer to the Piwnica.\(^51\) The prominent position of the Piwnica on the main market square, its renowned name, and the fact that the city owned the establishment would quickly draw the attention of the authorities regardless of the gravity of the infractions. The public house, however, overwhelmingly functioned as a normal establishment without regular occurrences of violations or violence.

The available revenue records from the city suggest that the income and expenses from the Piwnica fluctuated regularly. The city would often lease out the establishment to a publican for a fixed annual rate and collect taxes from the sales of the alcohol. The city earned as much as 635 Marcs and twenty-six Grosze in 1403 and as little as twenty-eight Marcs in 1414 from the Piwnica with an average income for the available years between 1390 and 1487 of 182 Marcs and thirty-one Grosze.\(^52\) The cost of purchasing beer was as high as 493 Marcs and thirty-five Grosze in 1403 and as low as two Marcs and thirty-nine Grosze in 1400 with an average cost for the available years between 1390 and 1487 of 220 Marcs and ninety-two Grosze.\(^53\) The city usually bought beer by the wagonloads and less often by the barrel.\(^54\) A wagon of beer usually cost the city eight Grzywien, but at times, as little as two Kopy Grosze (Kopa was eight to eleven Grosze).\(^55\) For example, in 1392, the council purchased four wagonloads of beer for thirty Marcs from Vyweg, six wagonloads for forty-seven Marcs from Rymer, three wagonloads for nineteen Marcs and nineteen Fertones from Brokner de Swyndnicia, two wagonloads from Reyman, and

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\(^{52}\) The available data is from the years: 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1395, 1396, 1399, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1414, and 1431. Kutrzeba, Stanisław, *Finanse i Handel Średniowiecznego Krakowa* (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), Tablica II.

\(^{53}\) The available data is from the years: 1390, 1391, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, and 1403. Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel Średniowiecznego Krakowa* (Kraków: Avalon, 2009), Tablica III.

\(^{54}\) Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 125.

\(^{55}\) Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 50.
one-and-a-half wagonloads for eight Marcs and nineteen Fertones from an unspecified purveyor.\textsuperscript{56} From 1517 to 1519, the city bought 185 barrels for 522 Grzywien and thirty-five Grosze or two Grzywien and forty Grosze a barrel.\textsuperscript{57} The city’s publican, Stanisław Karniowski, paid the city five Grzywien per barrel and sold 165 barrels in that time period.\textsuperscript{58} As a result, the city made a profit of over 300 Grzywien. The graph below, based on the work of Stanisław Kutrzeba, shows the income, purchase costs, and/or net profit of the Piwnica for the extant years.\textsuperscript{59}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{piwnica_graph.png}
\caption{Piwnica Świdnicka}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{56} Józef Szujski and Franciszek Piekosiński, eds., Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki Miasta Krakowa od R. 1300 do 1400 [The Oldest Account Books of the City of Krakow from 1300 to 1400] (Kraków: Naklad Akademii Umiejetności Krakowskiej, 1878), 78.

\textsuperscript{57} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 52.

\textsuperscript{58} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 52.

\textsuperscript{59} Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, Tablica II, Tablica III.
Activities

The public houses of Cracow provided important services to the community. The most basic services included providing food, drink, and accommodation. The locales, however, as this study shows, did more than that. The establishments provided places where inhabitants could buy supplies. They offered services, such as lending horses or wagons for various uses. The public houses also functioned as locations where individuals could receive correspondence. They provided the amenities necessary to support everyday life in the city of Cracow.

Food and Drink

An essential part to the success of a public house depended on the food and drink that it offered its patrons. Travelers throughout Europe often commented on the quality of the fare of an establishment. The publicans of Cracow provided a substantial variety of foods and drinks. Much of their offerings depended on the seasons and the availability of goods. The publicans who could afford a plot of land grew their own crops and raised their own animals, which they later used and sold at the establishment. Those without land purchased goods at the various markets of the city and served their acquisitions to their customers. The common feature of all public houses was the availability of alcohol on the premises.

There were certain basic habits that eaters in the city mostly followed. Individuals of all social standings ate food with their fingers, except for porridges and soups, while often holding a knife in the left hand or a spoon in the right.\textsuperscript{60} Forks, a luxury item, possibly first appeared in the city at the Congress of Cracow in 1364, but they do not appear in archeological sources until the

\textsuperscript{60} Maria Dembińska and William Woys Weaver, \textit{Food and Drink in Medieval Poland: Rediscovering a Cuisine of the Past} (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 50.
end of the fifteenth century and in royal inventories until 1502. According to William Woys Weaver, “there were two main meals: the prandium (eaten between 9 and 10 a.m.) and the coena (eaten between 5 and 7 p.m.), as they are referred to in the old Latin codexes.” The court officials of the city organized their hearings to occur before or after the prandium. The Polish Church expected its adherents to follow the meatless fast days on Wednesdays, Fridays, certain holy days, and during Lent. On feast days, the population consumed more food, and the royal court, wealthy burghers, and nobles often handed out victuals to the urban poor.

The food offered in public houses depended on what could be cooked in a hearth and what was available seasonally. At times, a farmer or soltyś would sell directly to the publican. Andrzej Wyczański estimates that the average caloric intake of peasants in Little Poland during the sixteenth century was 3,500 kilocalories from 77.6 grams of protein, 54.4 grams of fats, and 568.6 grams of carbohydrates, with the nobility consuming 19% more. Bread made with rye flour, either coarse (siliginis) or finely ground and black (niger), was a staple throughout the Polish lands. On occasion, sourdough and wheat breads were also available, but less often than rye bread. Bakers used “thick beer” and its yeast to leaven the bread before baking it. Individuals also ate rusks (binavice Latin: biscoctum), which were breads baked, sliced, and dried for preservation. This allowed for long-term storage and easy reconstitution as needed by dipping in beer or other liquids. The consumption of porridge, usually made from barley,
buckwheat, hemp seeds, or millet, was also widespread. Porridge made from millet was most common and consumed by all ranks of society. Millet also appeared in hearth breads, ash cakes, flat breads, and grits.  

Larger or wealthier public houses often included a plot of land in which publicans could raise livestock and grow vegetables. King Alexander Jagiellończyk issued a decree on March 11, 1504, which implemented a tax of one Grosze per plot on such publicans. The Niegrabka Tavern just outside the city walls had its own fields, gardens, and orchards. Those without land purchased products from the daily markets. Peas, cabbage, cucumbers, onions, and turnips were the most commonly eaten vegetables. Carrots, beets, radishes, parsnip, collards, kale, alexanders (Smyrnium Olustratum), skirrets (Sium Sisarum), and asparagus were also available. Parsley was the most popular potherb and it appeared in dishes and as a green vegetable during all seasons. It was also valued for its purported curative properties as a digestive aid and as a cleanser of the blood. Mustard, wormwood, dill, poppy seeds, and horseradish added flavor to various dishes, as did salt, vinegar, and beer. Fruits included apples, pears, plums, and sour or sweet cherries. Fruits and vegetables were least expensive during the harvest months of June,
September, and October. A wide variety of mushrooms both on their own and in combination with other ingredients also appeared in Cracowian diets.

Individuals from all socioeconomic standings consumed animal products in the Polish lands. Wealthier individuals could afford animal products more often and could pay for a better selection, but the costs were not prohibitive to the less fortunate. The average costs of various animals in the 1380s were as follows: A chicken was one Grosz, a hog was twenty-one Grosze, an ox fifty-four Grosze, and a cow forty-four Grosze. Cooks stewed, boiled, roasted, and baked meats with various apparatuses in the hearth. Chicken eggs were available year-round and geese eggs seasonally and both featured in public house fare. Dairy products, including milk, cheese, butter, and buttermilk were important parts of Cracowian diets and the publicans provided such products. Meat was least expensive in October and November when slaughtering and preparing meat for winter took place. This included beef, pork, lamb, and poultry. Pork was the most prevalent meat available and most widely consumed, especially bacon. Other pork products included ham (szoldre, solder, or perna), sausage (salsucia), small sausages (circinella), and blood sausage (farcimina). Pork lard (lardum) was the primary cooking fat used throughout western Europe and Poland, and publicans used it to prepare various meals.

Fresh fish, such as carp, crucian, pike, perch, tench, etc. appeared in public houses and was available as long as the Vistula and fish ponds did not freeze. The inhabitants of Cracow consumed fish often because the Polish Church strictly enforced fasting days. Publicans received fishing rights in order to supply fish to their customers. For example, in 1424, the Monastery of

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78 Wyczański, *Studia nad Konsumpcją*, 181.
79 Lemnis and Vitry, *Old Polish Traditions*, 80-82.
80 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 43.
81 Rkps 91, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)*, 323.
82 Dembińska and Weaver, *Food and Drink*, 89.
83 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 94.
St. Hedwig in Stradom granted a Stanisław Pudełko the right to establish a tavern and to fish for three Grzywien annually. Fish preparation took many forms, including fresh (recentes), dried (sicci), salted (salsi), pickled (semiassati), and smoked (fumigatis). In the winter months, publicans relied on smoked and salted meats and smoked and salted fish. The most common salted fish was herring, followed by salted eel. A barrel of herring sold for eight Grosze, while a barrel of eel for about two Grosze.

Beer, wine, and vodka (gorzalka or vinum crematum) were the three most common drinks found in the public houses of Cracow. Of these three, beer was the most common and played the largest role in consumption. Beer had been an important part of society in the Polish lands since the mythical origins of the Piast Dynasty. It was not strictly a drink of the “ordinary person” as some scholars have claimed because members of all ranks of the population of the city consumed large quantities of beer. Maria Dembińska has shown the large amounts consumed by the royal court, which is not reflective of the greater population, but demonstrates the consumption of the elite. During a royal dinner held by Jadwiga, each person consumed a half to two liters of beer. While in 1563, dowager Queen Katarzyna hosted a dinner at which the participants consumed 184 mugs of beer or about three mugs each. On other occasions, beer was a regular part of the royal meals, such as the king’s dinner with family (cum familia) at Niepołomice in 1389, where the participants consumed three Quartale (32 Liters each) of

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85 Dembińska and Weaver, *Food and Drink*, 99.
87 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 52.
90 Dembińska and Weaver, *Food and Drink*, 59.
91 Dembińska and Weaver, *Food and Drink*, 61.
Cracowian beer. The king also provided beer for his foreign guests. For example, at a dinner in Wiślica in 1412, Austrian, French, and Spanish guests each received $\frac{1}{2}$ achtel of beer. The accounting records of King Kazimierz IV Jagiellon and Queen Elizabeth of Austria from 1471 likewise show that the royal court consumed Cracowian and imported beer on a regular basis.

Dembieńska’s and Wyczański’s works also demonstrate that nobles, burghers, foreign dignitaries, and peasants all consumed beer. Dembińska estimates the average amount of daily consumption for the royal household was about 1.5 to 2 liters per person. This is similar to the daily average of 2.6 liters of beer established by Andrzej Wyczański for beer consumption of the nobility of the Polish crown in the sixteenth century. He estimates that the peasants of the counties (starostwa) of Little Poland, Korczyn, and Sieradz consumed 1.2 liters of beer daily. If his population estimate of 1,230,000 inhabitants of Little Poland is correct, then the total annual consumption of beer, therefore, would be 4,658,000 hectoliters or 123,051,342 gallons. This study also shows that all socioeconomic ranks consumed beer in the public houses of Cracow.

Publicans offered a large variety of beers brewed in Poland and imported from beyond the Polish lands. Publicans brewed beer on the premises, purchased barrels from local brewers, or imported from outside of the city. The majority of the beer consumed in Cracow came from local sources and not from the Silesian towns, as suggested by F. W. Carter. Certainly, some of the beer originated from Silesian towns, like the beer from Świdnica served in the Piwnica Świdnicka, but as shown by Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Sławiński, local brewers produced

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92 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 189.
93 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 204-206.
95 Dembińska, *Konsumpcja Żywnościowa*, 95.
96 Wyczański, *Studia nad Konsumpcją*, 129.
97 Wyczański, *Studia nad Konsumpcją*, 37, 106.
98 Wyczański, *Studia nad Konsumpcją*, 188.
99 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 551.
the majority.\textsuperscript{100} Besides Cracowian beer, the city most frequently consumed beer from Busko (ninety kilometers from Cracow), Wiślica (seventy-five kilometers from Cracow), Proszowice (thirty kilometers from Cracow), and Zator (fifty kilometers from Cracow).\textsuperscript{101} In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a barrel of beer from Wiślica cost ten Grosze, from Korczyna cost ten Grosze, from Cracow cost thirteen Grosze, and from other places cost between ten and twenty Grosze.\textsuperscript{102}

The city council strictly regulated the procedure for publicans to purchase beer from brewers in the city. The publican first had to order beer from a third party. The third party then provided the brewer with the desired grain or grains and hops. The brewer used the ingredients to make a specific amount of beer regulated by the city council. For twenty measures (\textit{mensurae} or \textit{scheffil}) of wheat, a brewer needed to produce nine barrels (\textit{vasa}) of good beer and one barrel of cheap beer (\textit{langwelle}); or for twenty-four measures, a brewer needed to make eleven barrels of good beer and one barrel of cheap beer.\textsuperscript{103} The brewer covered the costs of any deficiencies to the order. The city council banned a brewer caught producing doctored beer or providing fraudulent measurements from brewing for half a year.\textsuperscript{104} Any subsequent offenses resulted in banishment from the city.

Publicans offered a variety of choices for consuming beer. Patrons drank beer warm or cold depending on the climate. Publicans offered light beers and dark beers, comprised of various grains, including barley, wheat, rye, and/or oats, with or without additional flavorings. This included a white beer (\textit{cerevisia alba}), a light beer (\textit{schayte}), a cheap beer (\textit{langwelle}), a

\textsuperscript{100} Dryja and Sławiński, \textit{Krakowskie Slodownie}.
\textsuperscript{101} Dembińska, \textit{Konsumpcja Żywnościowa}, 137.
\textsuperscript{102} Dembińska, \textit{Konsumpcja Żywnościowa}, 168.
\textsuperscript{103} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 39.
\textsuperscript{104} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 40.
dark barley beer (nigra), a pilsner (marciali), and wheat beers (cerevisia triticea). Court records reveal that publicans also were serving lager as early as 1483. Thick beer was a mixture of barley, wheat, hops, and marsh or Labrador tea (poraj Latin: Ledum palustre)—the leaves from a low, slow-growing shrub with evergreen leaves. The thick beer was particularly potent because the leaves contained a “poisonous compound in the plant called andromedotoxin, which is quite harmful if consumed in large quantities.” Other beers were known by their place of origin, such as beer from Świdnica (piwo Świdnickie or cerevisia Swidnicensene).

There was a general consensus among Cracowians that wheat beer was both the best and the healthiest. According to Jan Długosz, wheat beer prepared with wheat, hops, and water was a native drink to the Polish lands. Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini, the later Pope Pius II, commented in his De Europa that the drink of the Polish “people was beer made with wheat and hops.” Various physicians claimed that wheat beer had positive health benefits. For example, the sixteenth century royal physician, Hieronim Spiczyński, wrote in his Herbarium from 1542, “Wheat beer is the healthiest for humans.” The sixteenth century priest, physician, pharmacist, and botanist, Marcin of Urzędów, added, “Nevertheless, I maintain that beer made of wheat, is beneficial for our health” and that “if it is prepared correctly for malting, according to the traditional methods of brewing beer, it cannot harm our health, but rather, help it.” This belief

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105 Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 39.
106 “Kasper caupo non paruit Kunczreczigrum pro lager pro 2bus florenos as eius villa reducillata per preconem Komorek ad faciendum.” Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksieg Wójtowska Krakowska), 26.
107 Dembińska and Weaver, Food and Drink, 79.
108 Dembińska and Weaver, Food and Drink, 78-79.
111 “Wszakże to trzymam, iż piwo z pszenice uczynione, wystałe, zdrowiu pożyteczne naszemu jest.” “Ile gdy będzie przyprawione pierwym na sól, według zwyczaju warzenia piwa, szkodzić zdrowiu naszego tak bardzo nie może, ale owszem pomaga.” Marcin z Urzędowa, Herbarz Polski, to Jest o Przyrodzeniu Ziól y Drzew Rozmaitych, y Innych Rzeczy do Lekarztw Należących, Księgi Dwoie [The Polish Herbarium, About the Science of Various Herbs
continued well beyond the sixteenth century. The first court case involving wheat beer occurred in 1478. A certain John of Krzyszkowice owed Andrea, a taverner, one Marc and six Grosze for an unspecified quantity of wheat beer.\textsuperscript{112} It is not clear if John satisfied the debt to Andrea.

The climate of the Polish lands did not allow for extensive viticulture to take hold and therefore, the majority of the wine consumed in the city was imported. The attempts to grow vines, including outside of Cracow, did not yield significant amounts of wine. This does not mean that winemaking was nonexistent, however. For instance, Nicolaus, a vintner from Kluczbork, sent his son, George, to the University of Cracow in 1402.\textsuperscript{113} By the sixteenth century, the climactic changes resulting in colder conditions hindered, but did not halt, efforts to produce domestic wine.\textsuperscript{114} For example, a certain Ioachim Merker was growing vines on his plot on St. Nicholas Street in 1568.\textsuperscript{115} The gradual introduction of foreign wines made it more economically viable to import wine and not invest as extensively in native viticulture. This allowed publicans to regularly serve various wines in their public houses.

Wine consumption in Cracow steadily increased over the course of the Jagiellonian Dynasty, beginning with Władysław Jagiełło. During his reign, “wine was given out only as a kind of honorarium to mark special occasions or to recognize certain persons of talent.”\textsuperscript{116} By the reign of Zygmunt I, the court consumed wine nearly every day.\textsuperscript{117} In order to meet the growing

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{and Trees} Dembińska and Weaver, \textit{Food and Drink}, 76.
\bibitem{and Other Things} Dembińska and Weaver, \textit{Food and Drink}, 76.
\bibitem{and Trees, and Other Things Pertaining to Medicine, Two Books} (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1595); Sławomir Dryja and Stanisław Ślawiński, \textit{Krakowskie Słodownie Przełomu Wieku XVI i XVII} (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2010), 20.
\bibitem{Regestrum Domini} Rkps 83, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 146.
\bibitem{Georgius Nicolai vineatoris de Cruczburb.} “Georgius Nicolai vineatoris de Cruczburb.” Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska, eds., \textit{Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z Lat 1400-1508 [The Student Rolls of the University of Cracow from 1400-1508]} (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004), 1:49.
\bibitem{Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,”} Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 538.
\bibitem{Dembińska and Weaver} Dembińska and Weaver, \textit{Food and Drink}, 76.
\end{thebibliography}
demand in the city, wine merchants sold increasingly more wine at the Cracowian markets. King Jan Olbracht allowed the city to capitalize on the growing wine trade in 1497 by issuing a privilege, which allowed Cracow to collect a wine tax (weingeld or ducellaria) based on the amount of product and the type of good.118

The merchants of Cracow imported wine from Hungary, France, Austria, Spain, Rumania, Cyprus, and Sicily. The selection of trade partners for wine ensured a large variety of the drink, including Malmsey and Muscatel. The proximity of Hungary to Cracow gave it a competitive advantage in the wine trade. Two basic types of Hungarian wine were most common: “wines from Zemplén and Abaújszántó, referred to as ‘zieleniaki samorodne’ (Szamorodni), and ‘maślacze asu’ from north-eastern Hungary (Hegyalja).”119 Wine imported across greater distances needed to have a higher alcohol or sugar content or to be carefully aged in wood.120 The proximity of the trading partner also influenced the price of the wine. For example, from 1390-1410, per liter, French wines cost 2.5 Grosze, Rumanian wines cost 2.25 Grosze, German Ruwer wines cost 2 Grosze, German Rhine wines cost 1.25 Grosze, and Hungarian wine cost .5 Grosz.121

Wine was not a drink strictly reserved for the wealthier residents or for the “privileged medieval aristocracy” of Cracow, as some scholars have argued, and this study shows that most socioeconomic ranks consumed the alcohol in the public houses.122 During the reigns of the early Jagiellonian kings, the cost of wine was prohibitive to all, but the wealthy. The cost, however, by the end of the fifteenth century, made it more accessible to everyday consumers. This is apparent

118 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 539.
119 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 548.
120 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 541.
121 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 574.
122 Carter, “Cracow’s Wine Trade,” 538.
from the court records and it is clear that publicans served wine to all customers. For example, on December 29, 1550, the king released Joannus Cerasino, an innkeeper, “from levies on thirty barrels of wine annually.” This would allow Joannus to serve at least 480 Liters of wine annually. In a decree on February 9, 1552, the king gave Martin Mixta of Cracow’s satellite city, Kleparz, “the right to sell wine, beer, and inebriating liquors from his home” during his lifetime. The king likewise gave privileges “to transport and import as well as to sell wine to Thomas Urbanowicz of Kleparz and his wife Dorothea” in 1556. Throughout his various decrees, the king gave individuals and publicans the rights to sell wine, in addition to other privileges regarding wine. The earliest extant court case involving wine publicans occurred on April 13, 1442 between a Swenscheg, wine publican, and a doctor for one Marc for an unknown commodity. The earliest proceedings involving a publican and the sale of wine dates from 1476-1479, when a Jan Liszi owed the publican Johan on the city square six Grosze for wine. The publicans of Mikołaj Rej’s various works also tempted their customers with wine. For example, in his *Apoftegmata*, the taverner and the innkeeper tried to entice clients with wine.

The publicans also had access to various types of wine, including expensive wine, like Malmsey or Muscatel. For instance, on January 8, 1551, the king granted Alberti Saxonis Poznaniensis, a royal physician, an exemption from duties for selling whatever kind of wine,

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123 “Fam. Joanni Cerasino iuris supremi arcis Cracoviensis advocato libertas ab omnibus exactionibus duceillorum vel czopowe, ab exactione pro 30 vasis vini singulis annis, immunitas ab onere hospitii omnium Regni subditorum” Sawicki, *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, 38.
including Malmsey and Muscatel, and any other drink, during his lifetime.\textsuperscript{129} The earliest extant court case involving Malmsey dates from 1476-1479. George, a goldsmith, owed Lorek, a publican, three and one-half Grosze for an unspecified quantity of Malmsey wine.\textsuperscript{130} Publicans also served new wine (\textit{vinum novum}) and old wine (\textit{vinum anticum}).\textsuperscript{131} The public houses serving wine were located in all parts of the city and not just the affluent areas as previously shown. This certainly does not mean that the wealthier residents of the city could not visit locales in less affluent areas because of their location, but it does suggest a more varied clientele. The court records show that those consuming wine in public houses in the city were individuals with occupations that did not guarantee their wealth. The rate of wine appearing in the records is lower than beer, but its presence shows that patrons also consumed wine in public houses.

The consumption of vodka (\textit{gorzalka} or \textit{vinum crematum}) became more prevalent in the Polish lands in the sixteenth century. Vodka first appeared in the Polish lands as a medicinal substance for pharmacists and doctors. Władysław Bogatyński is incorrect in his claim that individuals only used it medicinally and this study shows otherwise.\textsuperscript{132} His claim is more applicable to western Europe. Gradually, it became a common drink throughout the Polish lands. The king granted privileges to publicans to sell vodka at their establishments. For instance, on March 22, 1553, the king granted “the ability to sell the drink named vodka (\textit{gorzalka}).”\textsuperscript{133} Some publicans distilled vodka on the premises and sold it directly to their customers. For example, Matthias Rzączyk, citizen and taverner of Cracow, distilled vodka in a back room of his public

\textsuperscript{129} “Libertatio egregii Alberti Saxonis Poznaniensis atrium et medicinae doctoris et physici regii a ducillaribus quibusvis exactionibus, a vino quovis muscatella, malmatico et rimela et aliis potibus, quoscumque propinaverit, ad tempora vitae.” Sawicki, \textit{Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria}, 40
\textsuperscript{130} Rkps 83, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 111.
\textsuperscript{131} Rkps 87, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 215.
\textsuperscript{132} Bogatyński, \textit{Walka z Pijaństwem w Renesansowym Krakowie}, 10-11.
\textsuperscript{133} “Facultas propinandi potus gorzalka nuncupate civibus Camenecensibus Ruthenis permittitur.” Sawicki, \textit{Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria}, 100.
house on Cobbler’s Street. The earliest extant court case to mention vodka is from 1476-1479, when a Nicolaus Hazyrz accused the merchant Johannis of owing two Florins for vodka (cremato vino). It is unclear whether the vodka was of domestic or foreign production, but if it was of domestic production, this could challenge William Pokhlebkin’s conclusion that vodka distillation originated in Russia between 1448 and 1478.

The inhabitants of Cracow consumed mead (medo) and melomel less frequently. Mead is honey diluted with water and fermented with yeast; and melomel is mead with fruit juice. The nobility consumed the drinks on special occasions, such as the arrival of important foreign dignitaries. Dembińska calculates the price of mead to be three times that of beer. There were, however, public houses serving mead to their customers. For example, a meadery existed on Krakow Road from the fourteenth century until World War Two in the satellite city of Kazimierz. The oldest extant prohibition of the sale of mead dates from March 30, 1370, in which publicans could not sell mead and beer from cellars for consumption on the premises. The earliest court case involving a debt for four barrels of mead for four Marcs and sixteen Grosze between a Margaretha and Kylian occurred on March 24, 1442. The resolution of the hearing is unknown. These examples undermine William Pokhlebkin’s claim that “the first

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134 “Item tymże na tyle komórka, gdzie palą gorzałkę.” Jelonk-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 227.
135 Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 31.
137 Dembińska Konsumpcja Żywnościowa, 141.
138 Bogatyński, Walka z Pijaństwem, 10.
139 “Actum Anno domini M. CCCmo. LXXo. sabbato ante Judica proximo, quod domini consules seniorum Ciuitatis antecedente et accedente consilio, decretum huismodi inmutabile effecerunt perpetuo obseruandum, videlicet: quod nullus pincernarum seu hominum debeat per amplus in Ciuitate in aliquo cellario medonem aut ceruisiam propinare ita, quod homines ibidem bibentes sedeant in cellario uel in ipsius penu, quod penu versum sit contra platheam.” Piekosiński, Kodeks Dyplomatyczny, 380.
140 Niwinski, Jelonk-Litewka, and Litewka, eds., Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska, #35.
mention of mead as an alcoholic drink dates” “among the Czechs and Poles from the sixteenth century.”

Lodging

The size of the structure dictated the number of guests that a publican could lodge. Not all of the public houses in Cracow could offer their clientele lodging. Many of the locales did not have the infrastructure necessary to accommodate guests overnight. A publican selling drinks and food from their basements or warehouses or individuals selling alcohol from their homes to supplement their income did not have room to allow patrons to stay in the building. The costs of lodging services are unknown as there are no extant city regulations on prices. The publicans would welcome guests to the same place that they lived with their families. Welcoming strangers to one’s home had its risks and this periodically led to violence, theft, defamation, or at least, accusations of such actions. Lodging guests, however, provided an additional source of income, which outweighed the threat of danger.

Smaller public houses offered lodging in a common room and occasionally, in separate quarters. Usually, the guests would “spend time in the same place as free (men or women) and the family.” This meant that if there was not a spare room for accommodating guests, the visitors would dwell in the same chambers as the publicans and their families. A separate room was a luxury in smaller public houses and these would cost more to rent. These rooms also did not guarantee privacy as the publicans would often accommodate multiple clients therein.

Larger establishments, as the engineering records reveal, had separate rooms for guests, usually next to the hall or on the upper level. The average patron would pay to sleep in a

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141 Pokhlebkin, A History of Vodka, 12.
142 “In qua cum liberis et familia habiturus fuerit.” Sawicki, Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, 38.
common or large hall with any number of bedfellows. Wealthier clients, however, could afford private chambers, which gave them slightly more privacy. Renting out an entire room would have been expensive and available only to the wealthiest of patrons. This meant that multiple customers usually shared the separate quarters. Travelers throughout Europe would have been accustomed to such lodging arrangements.

Other Services

The public houses of Cracow served as locations for inhabitants of the city to buy supplies. This included wood, stone, oil, vinegar, horses, and various other items. The publicans stored wood and other supplies on their premises for their own use and to sell it to their clients. For example, the taverner Albert Kostka, had “a place for storing wood” on his property.\(^{143}\) The clients purchasing wood from the publican often failed to satisfy their debt and appear throughout the court records. This is evident in 1486/1487, when Nicolaus Koziel “recognized that he owed two Marc’s for firewood to Stanislaus, publican;” or in 1489, when “Jacob Zijewijawin recognized that he owed four Florins to Thomas, publican, for wood.”\(^{144}\) This was also the case for other supplies. For instance, in 1486-1487, a Peter Black owed the publican Martin nine Marc’s for four barrels of vinegar.\(^{145}\) Similarly, in 1489, Ambrose of Kiezmark owed five Florins to Kasper, publican, for a horse.\(^{146}\) While Stanislaus Wilcztowskij owed John, a publican, two Florins for stone.\(^{147}\)

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\(^{143}\) “Item tamże miejsce dla chowania drew w tymże przysionku przed lasy od Pańskiej słodownie, wdluž na łokci dziesięć, szyroko łokci cztery.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, *Quartaliensiunm Recognitiones et Divisiones 1578-1591*, 248.


\(^{145}\) Rkps 87, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* (*Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska*), 121.

\(^{146}\) Rkps 88, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* (*Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska*), 286.

\(^{147}\) Rkps 88, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* (*Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska*), 71.
Certain establishments also offered services to the inhabitants of Cracow. For example, the publicans who could afford a horse periodically lent the animal to residents of the city for their needs. The court records show that at times the horse was injured or died in the service of the borrower and the publican sought to recoup costs for the loss. In other instances, the borrowers did not pay the full amount for the service and the publicans sought to collect the arrears either through the arbitration of the courts or through the seizure of assets. Other services included lending equipment, such as wagons, to individuals for various uses.

The public houses of Cracow functioned as a place for individuals to receive their correspondences. This is particularly true for diplomats throughout Europe, who were often traveling from place to place without a permanent address. For destinations closer to the Polish lands, such as Hungary or the Czech lands, the king dispatched royal messengers regularly. The king, for instance, sent six envoys to Hungary in 1518, five in 1523, and six in 1524 at a cost of about ten Florins each.\(^\text{148}\) Sending messengers to more distant locations was costlier and more complicated, and the king resorted to this in matters of utmost importance. More commonly, the ruler relied on merchants and other travelers who journeyed recurrently to various destinations, thus establishing regular correspondence routes. For example, merchants brought monthly messages from Spain, via Naples, to Rome, and afterwards, to Poland; the same was true for the route from Spain, via Antwerp, to Augsburg or Wroclaw, and lastly, to Cracow.\(^\text{149}\) According to Andrzej Wyczański, in the sixteenth century, communications between Rome and Poland took around eight to ten weeks, northern Germany and Poland three to four weeks, the Netherlands and Poland six to eight weeks, Spain to Poland three to five months, Austria to Poland three to


\(^{149}\) Wyczański, “Polska Służba Dyplomatyczna,” 27.
The correspondence of Ioannes Dantiscus provides a glimpse into the use of public houses as a place for receiving missives. Throughout various letters, he makes a brief mention of receiving letters from different individuals at the public house, in which he was currently residing. For example, in a letter from May 5, 1525 to King Zygmunt I, Dantiscus describes receiving and reading communiqués from the king written March 13 at his inn in Toledo. Likewise, in Palencia, on September 10, 1527, he received correspondence at his public house from Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch. In a letter written on March 23, 1545, Marco de la Torre informed Dantiscus that he did not remember the contents of the missive he received at the public house in Cracow. The public houses provided these itinerant individuals with a semi-permanent location, where they could receive important correspondence and continue to communicate with their places of origin.

Regulations

The city council attempted to regulate when individuals brewed beer and sold and consumed alcohol. It employed quality inspectors or controllers (affusores) to enforce its various

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150 Wyczański, “Polska Służba Dyplomatyczna,” 32.
regulations throughout the public houses of the city. The council forbade any person from brewing beer and selling and consuming alcohol during church services on Sunday and on holy days.\textsuperscript{154} The laws prohibited publicans from selling alcohol during holy days, including Easter, Pentecost (\textit{Zielone Świątki}), the Ascension, and Christmas.\textsuperscript{155} The penalty for a transgression of the ban varied and could be as high as one Grzywien. In 1390, the council issued an edict forbidding the inhabitants of city from being idle on Monday in an effort to minimize alcohol consumption on Sundays (\textit{poniedziałkowanie} or \textit{den guten Montag}).\textsuperscript{156} The inspectors collected sixty-seven-and-one-half Grzywien in penalties (\textit{poenae excessus} and \textit{poenae affusionum}) in 1403 and 105 Grzywien in penalties in 1404.\textsuperscript{157}

The city council strictly regulated the price of beer and repeatedly issued statutes to enforce their decisions. Between 1454 and 1491, the council altered the price of beer in the city on seventeen occasions.\textsuperscript{158} The edicts considered the price of grains and hops to determine an appropriate cost of beer.\textsuperscript{159} This link resulted in significant fluctuations in the prices. The highest price occurred in 1457, when a barrel of beer cost forty-four Grosze, while the lowest occurred in 1489, when a barrel cost nine Grosze.\textsuperscript{160} The price of beer began to drop significantly around 1472 because the price of grains and hops began to fall concurrently.\textsuperscript{161} The graph below

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{154} “7. Item nemo coctor caeruisiae audeat diebus domnicis et aliis solennibus festis purissimae virginis Mariae, apostolorumque sanctorum succendere ignem ad conquendam caeruisiam sub paena dimidii lapidis caerae toties, quoties id quispiam eorum commiserit, irremissibiliter persoluenda.” \textit{Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia ab Anno 1507 usque ad Annum 1795}, ed. Franciscus Piekosiński, vol. 8, \textit{Leges, Privilegia et Statuta Civitatis Cracoviensis} (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1885), 701.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 47.
\item \textsuperscript{156} Bogatyński, \textit{Walka z Pijaniem}, 8.
\item \textsuperscript{157} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 46-47.
\item \textsuperscript{158} Piekosiński, \textit{Kodeks Dyplomatyczny}, 482-484.
\item \textsuperscript{159} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 47.
\item \textsuperscript{160} Piekosiński, \textit{Kodeks Dyplomatyczny}, 482-484.
\item \textsuperscript{161} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 47.
\end{itemize}
illustrates the fluctuations. Noncompliance to such regulations resulted in a loss of beer and vessels.

![Cost of Beer (Per Barrel)](image)

Despite the efforts of the city to enforce prices on the sale of beer, publicans attempted to exact additional profits. For example, in 1478, the city officials summoned members of the taverners guild to testify in court on a case involving a certain Stanislaus. The officials accused Stanislaus of defamation and excessive prices. The guild members testified that they did not know about such claims.\textsuperscript{162}

The public houses also at times received legal backing from the king or city authorities to carry out the brewing processes. For example, on March 17, 1552, the chancellery issued all rights to an Armeni Camenecenses for “practicing commerce, pounding grain, preparing malt, cooking beer, and selling beer and other types of liquor.”\textsuperscript{163} Issuing approvals for brewing in

\textsuperscript{162} Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 189.

\textsuperscript{163} “Armeni Camenecenses in antiqua libertate mercaturam exercendi, panes pinsendi, brasea conficiendi, cervisiam coquend, eam ipsum et alia genera liquorum propinandi, omnibus licitis et honestis modis victum querendi nec non commode sua augendi conservantur.” Sawicki, Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, 70.
public houses gave the authorities a way of legitimizing the establishments, a greater degree of control over such places, and an additional source of income.

The king also sought to protect the interests of the public houses of Cracow from competition. For example, on April 27, 1502, Alexander Jagiellon issued a ban on the sale of foreign beers and wine in the satellite town of Kleparz. According to the edict, “We decreed and sentenced, and we decide, define, and sentence that the town of Kleparz its inhabitants have no law or protection for the aforementioned, namely, extending or raising the general payment, for the propination of beer from Świdnica or foreign beer and foreign drinks or wine, and furthermore, we and our successors prohibit such liberties, we prohibit them in perpetuity.” This helped limit competition from the satellite city and helped give Cracow a monopoly on selling beer.

Expenses

The expenses of running and maintaining a public house could accumulate quickly. There were various services which a publican could employ, but these came at a cost. The city and at times, king were quick to make a profit from the services provided to and by public houses. The service fees were in addition to the taxation of the establishments.

In the fifteenth century, the city council began enforcing a tax on the consumption of wine and beer in the city (Czopowe or ciza Latin: Ternarii Ducillum). The burden of these duties fell heaviest on the places serving alcohol regularly, like the public houses. The city did

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164 Piekosiński, *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny*, 308.
165 *Deceruimus et Sentenciauimus, decernimusque, diffinimus et Sentenciamus, Opidum Clepardie et eius Incolas nullum Ius aut munimentum habere ad predictam videlicet pensam generalem extendendam seu erigendam, ad propinandasque Swidnicensem et alias forenses ceruisias potusque extraneos aut vina generis cuiuscumque, propertereaque eam illis libertatem per nos et successors nostros prohibendam, prout prohibemus perpetuo.* Piekosiński, *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny*, 308.
166 Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 86-89.
not gather these taxes regularly, but only when the Sejm agreed to institute them because the majority of the collections went to the royal coffers. The city earned a percentage of the fees: for every Grosz gathered, Cracow received one Ternarius (six Ternarius in one Grosz). The amount paid depended on the amount of beer or wine consumed. For example, for a barrel (vasa) of beer, the royal treasury received one Florin and the city five Grosze, or for a barrel of wine, the royal treasury received three Florins and the city fifteen Grosze.

The king was the ultimate arbiter on the imposition or dissolution of the czopowe duties. The king could grant exemptions to the beer tax as he saw fit. For example, on December 29, 1551, he released a certain Joannes Cerasino from “all beer tax exactions, levies on thirty barrels of wine annually, and all burdens of the inn in the kingdom, except for foreigners in a time of gathering of outsiders of the leader of Cracow.” The king could also call for an extraordinary collection of the levy. For instance, in 1502, King Alexander Jagiellończyk continued a special collection in order to pay for the costs of war: “Also, concerning the czopowe tax, it ought to continue according to its institution at the Sejm of Piotrków, and that its exaction ought to be well provided, so that namely one barrel costs one Grosz.” The decree also placed a two Ducatus tax on a barrel of wine. The king subsequently extended the duty for an additional year on May 29 and June 4, 1505. Furthermore, the king could circumvent the czopowe levies

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167 Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, 87.
168 Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, 87.
169 Kutrzeba, Finanse i Handel, 88.
170 “Fam. Joanni Cerasino iuris supremi arcis Cracoviensis advocato libertas ab omnibus exactionibus ducillorum vel czopowe, ab exactione pro 30 vasis vini singulis annis, immunitas ab onere hospitii omnium Regni subditorum exceptis hominibus externis tempore conventus externorum principum Cracoviae in domo cum attinentiis, in qua cum liberis et familia habiturus fuerit.” Sawicki, Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria, 38.
172 Papée, Akta Aleksandra, 54.
173 “Decrevimus et decernimus eam ipsum exactionem czopowe iterum per integrum annum nunc immediate sequentem pro defensione Reipublicae et stipendariorum solutione solvendam. Papée, Akta Aleksandra, 486-489.
and place his own imposts directly on the public houses. Jan Długosz shows that Władysław II Jagiełło did this in 1430 as did his son, Casimir IV Jagiellon, in 1463.\footnote{Jan Długosz, \textit{The Annals of Jan Długosz: Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae}, trans. Maurice Michael (Charlton, West Sussex: IM Publications, 1997), 452, 545.}

If a public house purchased beer from a brewery or imported its beer it would have to pay a variety of costs. In 1396, the city stipulated that a brewer should brew nine barrels of wheat beer from twenty measures (\textit{mensurae or scheffil}) of wheat.\footnote{Szujski and Piekosiński, \textit{Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki}, 148.} The publican should then purchase a barrel of the wheat beer for fourteen Scotis.\footnote{Szujski and Piekosiński, \textit{Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki}, 148.} A batch of dark beer should cost the publican ten Grosze.\footnote{Kutrzeba, \textit{Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie},” 39.} The publican also paid six Grosze to an individual to carry water for the batch and three Grosze for someone to bring wood to heat the cauldrons.\footnote{Kutrzeba, \textit{Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie},” 39.} At times, the publican defaulted on payments to the brewer and these issues moved into the city court system. The publican often sought to repay the arrears gradually, but if unable to do so, the brewer could confiscate property to recoup the losses.

A publican or a brewer paid a fee to have malt measured when purchased from a malter (\textit{mensuracio braseorum}). The city council implemented the measure as a supplemental, albeit small, source of income in 1395.\footnote{Kutrzeba, \textit{Finanse i Handel}, 59.} The city employed measurers (\textit{mensuratores}) to attend transactions of malt and to measure the amounts to ensure standards. The fee for the service was one Grosze per each measurement.\footnote{Kutrzeba, \textit{Finanse i Handel}, 59.} The income generated from the fees was minimal and Stanisław Kutrzeba speculates that the amount recorded in the city accounting books reflects the revenue after the measurers received their pay.\footnote{Kutrzeba, \textit{Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie},” 40.} In the extant ledgers, the city earned as little as
three Grzywny in 1404 and as much as nineteen Grzywny and thirty-two Grosze in 1397.\textsuperscript{182} Details about the transactions are sparse and it is unclear whether the buyer or seller paid the fee and if the measurer collected the fee at the meeting or if one of the participants paid in advance.

For a publican or a brewer to brew beer on their premises, they needed a significant amount of water. The city capitalized on this demand by charging the individual for using the city water supply. This did not apply to those who had a well on their plot of land. The city charged seven to ten Grzywien to first connect a building to the city water supply by installing wooden pipes.\textsuperscript{183} The city then charged the customers a fee (rorne) of two Grosze quarterly for continued service.\textsuperscript{184} Publicans and brewers paid an additional fee (rorgelt) because they consumed more water. The city enforced the payment on the publicans and brewers by charging them each time they bought malt for brewing.\textsuperscript{185} The records of the transactions, unfortunately, do not specify the exact amount of remuneration.

One of the many other costs that a public house could encounter was paying for the transportation of barrels of beer or wine on the city owned wagons—the schrottwagen. The schrottwagen appears for the first time in the records in 1335, but likely functioned well before that time.\textsuperscript{186} The schrottwagen was a common feature of cities in and influenced by the German lands and it is likely that Cracow modeled its city wagon on Wroclaw’s. Cracow owned seven horses, three wagons, and all the equipment necessary to load barrels.\textsuperscript{187} The szrotgelt or szroton was the fee paid for the service. The city maintained a monopoly on the city wagons and instituted a complex series of laws regulating the appropriate use of the service.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{182} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 40.
\textsuperscript{183} Kutrzeba, 	extit{Finanse i Handel}, 60.
\textsuperscript{184} Kutrzeba, 	extit{Finanse i Handel}, 61.
\textsuperscript{185} Kutrzeba, 	extit{Finanse i Handel}, 61.
\textsuperscript{186} Kutrzeba, 	extit{Finanse i Handel}, 46.
\textsuperscript{187} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 45.
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The stipulations for using the *schrottwagen* to transport beer barrels and paying the *szrotgelt* were different from wine barrels. A publican, or anyone for that matter, paid a fee to a porter to move a single barrel or achtel (*achtayl, octuale, actualae*) (134-140 liters) of beer or a larger fee to move more than one barrel on the city wagon. There was no fee, however, for a brewer to sell to a purveyor, if the vendor sold directly to the customer.\(^{188}\) Otherwise, individuals paid for the city to move their barrels from cellar to cellar. Beyond these specifications, the conditions for moving beer are unclear.\(^{189}\) Inhabitants also paid a tax for the *szrotmagister* to move a barrel or more of wine from a cellar to another cellar or to another location. There were exceptions to this: 1) when an individual moved locations, they did not need to pay for the transportation of wine to their new locale, 2) if a cellar reached its capacity, the individual could make space by moving barrels to a different cellar without a fee, and 3) if an individual was moving wine from one house to another.\(^{190}\)

The movement of barrels of beer was a fixed price while the amount paid for wine depended on the country of origin and was significantly higher than beer. The fee for moving an achtel of beer likely cost \(\frac{1}{2}\) Grosz, while a barrel of imported beer cost one Grosz to move on the city wagons.\(^{191}\) In 1444, the cost to move a barrel of Italian wine was six Grosze, a barrel of Hungarian wine was three Grosze, and German wine was four Grosze.\(^{192}\) By 1488 and 1452, the price had increased significantly: the fee for Italian and Muscatel wine was twenty-four Grosze, Greek wine was sixteen Grosze, and German wine was sixteen Grosze.\(^{193}\) The individual wanting the service paid the city council in advance and presented the *szrotmagister* with proof

\(^{188}\) Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 42.
\(^{189}\) Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 49.
\(^{190}\) Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 48.
\(^{191}\) Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 42.
\(^{192}\) Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 50.
\(^{193}\) Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 51.
of purchase. The penalty for the szrotmagister accepting cash payments in lieu of the payment receipt was banishment from the city. This occurred in a court case on April 14, 1404 when Gregorius Brach, Wernek, Andreas Kanczorka, Miczek Blosec, Semek, and Kyanka accepted money for moving beer. The service fee provided the city with an additional source of revenue and placed a tariff on foreign imports. The city earned an average of about 250 Grzywien annually from its wagons. The graph below, based on the work of Stanislaw Kutrzeba, shows the yearly revenue from the schrottwagen.

![City Revenue from Schrottwagen](chart)

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194 Kutrzeba, *Finanse i Handel*, 52-54.
196 Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 43.
197 Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 43nr5.
Conclusions

The public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty provided important services to the city. The establishments were located on nearly all the roads within the walls with a concentration near the gates in the north of the city and along the royal route. These favorable locations allowed the enterprises to attract the most potential clients. The city itself owned and operated a public house in the most favorable location of the city—in the town hall on the main square—with a monopoly on beer from Świdnica known as the Piwnica Świdnicka. The Piwnica, however, does not appear to have been a particularly unruly establishment as suggested by some, but an institution that functioned in a normal capacity. Not only did public houses offer the expected food, drink, and lodging to their clientele, they created locations where individuals could buy supplies, rent horses or wagons, and receive their correspondence. The services provided allowed the publicans of the public houses to cover the many expenses that stood in the way of profitability. The king and city officials saw the potential revenue from the locales and implemented taxation measures in addition to legislation aimed at controlling such establishments. The publicans maintaining the public houses had to meticulously navigate many obligations and they are the focus of the next chapter.
Chapter Three: The Publicans of Cracow

Publicans (*tabernator, caupos, pincerna, vini pincerna, karczmarz, szynkarz, kreczmer, birschenke*) were individuals who sold alcohol from public houses, basements/cellars, or warehouses. These purveyors sold the drinks for consumption on location or to take home. As the individuals responsible for the success or failure of the establishment, they had to provide a variety of services to the community while navigating the day-to-day challenges of maintaining a dynamic enterprise. A publican who could not manage the tasks and nuances of a locale would quickly fall into debt or encounter other problems. Not all publicans owned the facilities that they maintained, but many did. Those who did not own the edifices, leased from the owners of the building, including nobles, clergy, merchants, the city, and various others. The owners wanted to maximize their profits and pressured the publicans into generating revenue. This added to the difficulties of the lives of the publicans.

The purpose of this chapter is to give life to the men and women who maintained the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty. The chapter begins by calculating the minimum population of the publicans in the city. It then scrutinizes the individuals purveying alcohol outside of the legal structure, the guild attempting to control the trade, the welcoming of new publicans, the publican families, and the leasing of buildings. The next section examines the Jewish inhabitants of Cracow and their roles in the public houses of the city. The chapter concludes with a study of the problems facing the publicans, which included debts, games and gambling, prostitution, cleanliness, crime, and overconsumption.
The Publicans

It is impossible to determine the exact number of publicans in the city of Cracow given the nature of the evidence, but it is possible to discuss minimums. In the oldest extant *Advocatalia* from 1442-1443, of the 2,239 court cases, only thirty-two hearings explicitly mention publicans.\(^1\) This number, however, increased in the subsequent extant books. In the next book, thirty court cases involved publicans from the years 1476 to 1479.\(^2\) Between 1479-1481, cases involving publicans increased to fifty-five.\(^3\) In subsequent years, the pattern continued: in 1481-1482, fifty-five cases, in 1483-1484, 120 cases, in 1486-1487, forty-nine cases, in 1489, 101 cases, and in 1490, fifty cases.\(^4\) One of the difficulties with using the court cases to determine the number of publicans in the city is that it is not always possible to distinguish unique individuals. The court cases also only mention publicans who had been involved in some type of violation. The majority of the publicans functioned without infractions and would not appear in the court records. This, therefore, makes the estimates of publicans problematic. The *Exactionem Ducillarem Tabernatorum* help correct this deficiency because it is possible to enumerate distinct publicans paying taxes in the city from the records. From April 25, 1557 to April 17, 1558, there were at least 177 distinct publicans paying taxes to brew in Cracow: thirty on *Sutorum* Street, nine on *Stephani* Street, fourteen on *Judeorum* Street, twenty on *Slakowiensis* Street, twelve on *Joannis* Street, twenty-four on *Floriani* Street, nine on *Hospitalis* Street.

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2. Rkps 83, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* (*Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska*).
3. Rkps 84, *Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis* (*Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska*).
Street, eight on Swidniczensis Street, twenty-seven on Nicolai Street, eleven on Castrensis Street, and thirteen on Anna Street. Map 2 provides a visual representation of this distribution, while Appendix D offers a list of all the individuals in this sample. In an estimated population of 30,000 people for the conurbation during the sixteenth century, this meant that there was one publican for every 170 residents. This, however, only accounts for the publicans paying taxes to brew beer in the city and therefore, the number must be greater.

The kings and city officials of Cracow chose not to limit the burghers’ privilege to brew beer for themselves (prawo wareczne). This gave those with the appropriate resources to brew for private consumption and for sale. The city would staunchly defend this right and its status continued throughout the Jagiellonian Era. Individuals brewing beer for private use did not have to meet many of the legal restrictions on brewing beer in the city of Cracow. They also did not have to comply with the guild requirements for a guildmember to brew beer. Beer was an important part of the medieval diet and the inhabitants of the city regularly brewed at home for private consumption. Individuals also sold beer brewed at home for extra earnings without following the prescribed legal institutions.

The capability for those with the appropriate resources to brew and sell beer and to offer accommodations meant that many individuals operated outside of the legal requirements. They do not appear in the records unless they encountered legal troubles. For example, in 1564, the city officials imposed fines of eighteen Marc and forty-two-and-one-half Grosze on individuals

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5 Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum.
6 Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum.
7 Stanisław Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie” [“Beer in Medieval Cracow”], Rocznik Krakowski 1, (1898): 42.
for selling beer from their homes against the orders of the authorities. They appear most often in the records as people who sold beer, wine, vodka, or mead, but do not receive a designation as a brewer or a publican. For example, in 1396, a certain Heinricus accused Polak, Niclos Schultis, Schultis Baliczky, Kurzantka, Iakusz Dzeczantka, Vluspakusszinne, and Stephan Malynne of selling beer without paying taxes. The court record does not identify these individuals as publicans or brewers and it is likely that they were selling beer illegally and functioning outside of the legal requirements of the city. At times, the court records identify the individuals selling alcohol with other professions. For instance, in a court case from July 6, 1442, a certain Stanislaw owed Clemens, a tailor, half a Marc for beer. A certain Michal owed the seamstress, Maczkowa, six Marcas in a lawsuit from September 5, 1442; while a certain Greczke owed Biskup, a mason, six-and-one-half Grosze for beer in legal proceedings from May 16, 1442. This suggests that they were trying to earn income beyond their usual occupations.

The ability for those with the appropriate resources to brew and sell beer and to offer accommodations also undermined the economic control of the Malter’s, Brewer’s, and Taverner’s Guilds over these aspects. Although the guilds played an important role in the city, they could not establish a monopoly over the purveying of alcohol. This hindered the establishment of the guilds and they did not receive their first privileges until the early fifteenth century. Unfortunately, the documents did not survive and the oldest extant privileges, which

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9 Józef Szujski and Franciszek Piekosiński, eds., Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki Miasta Krakowa od R. 1300 do 1400 [The Oldest Account Books of the City of Krakow from 1300 to 1400] (Kraków: Nakład Akademii Umiejętności Krakowskiej, 1878), 137.

10 Niwinski, Jelonek-Litewka, and Litewka, Księga Wójtowska Krakowska, #110.

11 Niwinski, Jelonek-Litewka, and Litewka, Księga Wójtowska Krakowska, #382.

combined the three professions into a single document, date from 1564. The privileges organized
the guilds in the same manner as other guilds in the city and throughout Europe. The hierarchy of
the guilds included elected elders, masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The elders governed
the guild and established the production quotas, regulated wages, enforced guild laws, among
other obligations.

The training process for candidates to become masters was long and difficult. Master’s
expected apprentices to be physically fit, to come from proper families, and to be freemen. There
is evidence that women participated in the apprenticeship, but it is not certain.\textsuperscript{13} The fee to begin
the apprenticeship was between eight and fifteen Grosze.\textsuperscript{14} The master provided for the
apprentices and educated them over the course of a year.\textsuperscript{15} After the year, the master, with the
guild members, expected the apprentices to demonstrate their abilities. If the guildmembers gave
the apprentices a favorable evaluation, they received a certification of mastery and they became a
journeyman. The journeymen could remain in Cracow or the guild sent them beyond the city to
study under a subsequent master, usually between a year and six Sundays and two years.\textsuperscript{16}
Journeymen from Cracow often traveled to cities in the German lands because of the long-
standing connections between the two areas. The main goal for this journey was to give the
journeyman additional training, but it also helped reduce competition in Cracow because many
of the journeymen found permanent employment during this time.\textsuperscript{17} Upon completion of the
journey, the journeymen had to demonstrate their mastery of the trade to the guildmembers,

\textsuperscript{13} Gadocha, “Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich,” 259.
\textsuperscript{14} Gadocha, “Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich,” 260.
\textsuperscript{15} Agnieszka Bukowczan-Rzeszut, \textit{Jak Przetrwać w Średniowiecznym Krakowie [How to Survive in Medieval
Cracow]} (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Astra, 2018), 42.
\textsuperscript{16} Gadocha, “Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich,” 263.
\textsuperscript{17} Bukowczan-Rzeszut, \textit{Jak Przetrwać w Średniowiecznym Krakowie}, 45.
swear an oath to the guild, and pay a fee. New masters were expected to marry within a year or to pay a fine.

The guilds enforced strict regulations upon their members in order to ensure the success of the trade. Guild privileges, for example, imposed directives, in accordance with city ordinances, to discourage members from displaying their wealth, particularly, in dress and ornamentation. Dues of one Grosz each meeting collected from guildmembers provided for medical care, funeral expenses, provisions to families of deceased members, weapons acquisitions, aid to the poor, group celebrations, the purchase of wax, and much more.\textsuperscript{18} Members attended guild meetings at a designated public house to engage in matters concerning the guilds. The guild required its members to celebrate religious services and to participate in processions. The Taverner’s and Brewer’s Guilds observed mass in St. Mary's Church and the Malter’s Guild attended mass in St. Anne’s Church.\textsuperscript{19} The city council also obligated the guild to hold training exercises to ensure readiness for the defense of the city.

Masters were ultimately responsible for their workers and they maintained rigor to ensure the successful operations of their establishments. Given that the publicans were in the service industry, the schedule for a guildmember was not typical and could vary depending on the labor demand. Members often worked between thirteen and sixteen hours a day, but with patrons lodging in the public houses, this could require twenty-four hours of service. At the end of the workday, the apprentices cleaned the facility, while journeymen and masters might have a bit of free time (\textit{feuerabend} or \textit{faeierant}).\textsuperscript{20} During this time, individuals were expected to carry themselves with propriety and not get inebriated, participate in games or gambling, engage in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Gadocha, “\textit{Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich},” 266.
\item Gadocha, “\textit{Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich},” 275.
\item Bukowczan-Rzeszt, \textit{Jak Przetrwać w Średniowiecznym Krakowie}, 48.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
violence, nor sleep elsewhere. Masters gave exemptions from work for illness, guild celebrations, funerals of guildmembers, and for various other reasons.

The city rarely welcomed publicans as new citizens. From 1392 to 1506, the city accepted forty-five new publicans (*tabernator, caupo, pincerna*) as citizens with most of these individuals arriving from other Polish lands and some from the German lands and Bohemia. The city welcomed the largest number of new publican citizens in 1441 with four individuals: Stanisław Trzeska de Lanczicz, Jacobus de Proschouicz, Stanislaus de Wangrzinowicze, and Micolai de Bibicz. Potential citizens needed to fulfil various requirements to complete the citizenship process, including obtaining letters of support, securing guarantors, and paying a fee. The fee varied from one Marc to several Grosze. The Taverner’s Guild, at times, acted as the guarantor for the new publican citizens, as was the case in 1441. The new citizens received all the privileges guaranteed to these individuals.

A successful publican family could pass down the business from generation to generation. One such family was the Stiga or Styga family. The Stiga family had been publicans from at least 1557 and the family appears in the records for the first time on October 31, 1557. On this occasion, a certain Stiga paid twenty-three Grosze to brew beer on St. Anne’s Street. Between 1557 and April 17, 1558, the Stiga family paid to brew on twenty-seven occasions on St. Anne’s Street for a total of 611 Grosze. By July 23, 1565, the Stiga family was operating two public houses: one on St. Anne’s Street under the guidance of Thomas Stiga and the other on Krupnikach Street (*Platea Pulmentariorum*) near the Cobbler’s Gate under Mathias or Matys

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22 Kaczmarczyk, *Księgi Przyjęć*.
26 Rkps 2368, *Regestrum Consignationis Actualium*. 
Stiga and his wife, Anna.\textsuperscript{27} That year, the Stiga family paid a total of 2,023 Grosze.\textsuperscript{28} On July 14, 1568, Mathias and Anna summoned the city engineers to their property in order to inspect the new editions made by their neighbor, Walentin Surdej, to his edifice claiming that it infringed on their property. The engineers judged in favor of Mathias and Anna and determined that Walentin had built on their property and had altered the shared gutters in a manner that caused damage to their building.\textsuperscript{29} Thomas last appeared in the records on October 6, 1565, while Mathias was still brewing beer as late as August 28, 1584.\textsuperscript{30}

The publicans could not always afford to own the buildings from which they operated and instead, leased the properties from owners, such as the clergy, nobles, or wealthy merchants. Leasing provided a steady stream of revenue for the owners and an opportunity for publicans to make a profit before they could afford to purchase a building for themselves. The city also leased public houses to publicans. For example, in 1534, a certain Wyeczorek paid the city twenty-six Marcs in two instalments to lease one of the city’s public houses.\textsuperscript{31}

The neglect of some publicans of leased buildings led to lawsuits. For example, the owners of the Byezanowski House, Ioannis Szolthisek and Ursula Byezanowszcanka, summoned the engineers to assess the damage to their property caused by the taverners Laurentius and Agnethis Wissomirski.\textsuperscript{32} The inspection confirmed the neglect: “When I came to the house on St.
Nicholas Street, which is called the Bieżanowski House, I saw much manure in three piles outside; also there was a lot of manure in two stables or sheds, the wall facing the house of Bartosz Szubarth is bad and holey.”

The engineer then moved to the brewery where “the dishes and vats are broken, the cauldron is bad, the bucket, with which they carry beer, is bad.” Water leaked into the structure, there was trash under the stairs in the hall, the bench was bad, the door was bad, the stairs were bad, and there was no bench in the large hall. The inspector returned to the public house four months later to confirm the neglect of the building and to add more details to his assessment. The leasees or renters had caused significant damage to the building and had left the edifice and plot in disarray. The owners hoped the legal proceedings would enable them to secure remuneration for the damages.

The Jewish Populace

The Jews in the Polish Lands

Members of the Jewish population of Cracow were publicans, patrons, and clients of the public houses of the city. Jews had been living in communities or holy congregations (kehilla kedoshah) throughout the Polish lands since at least the tenth century. The movement of Jews predominantly from the west to Polish lands started during the reign of the first Piast rulers and

33 “Gdym przyszedł do domu na Mikołajskiej ulicy leżącego, który Bieżanowskim zową, tamech na dworze widział gnoju pełno na trzech kupach; także też we dwu stajniach albo szopach gnoju pełno, ścianę złą zdziurawioną od domu Bartosza Szubartha.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartalsium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 256.

34 “W browarze naczynie i kadzi popowane i złe, kocioł zły, cebr, co piwo noszą, zły.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartalsium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 256.


36 Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartalsium Recognitiones et Divisiones, 273.
continued throughout the Middle Ages. Jerzy Wyrozumski argues that the reasons for the movement were twofold: the growth of oppression towards Jews in the west and the increasing opportunities for Jews to continue preferred Jewish professional activities in the Polish lands, including innkeeping and brewing. By 1386, “economic security, freedom from military service, and [a] lack of religious celibacy” attracted more Jews from “Germany, Austria, Bohemia, or Silesia,” which increased the number of organized communities to about sixty. The economic aims of the Polish monarchs and increasingly, the szlachta established favorable conditions for the Jews to encourage their migrations and investment into local economies. Although population estimates vary, it is possible that Polish Jewry increased to about 300,000 people by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Lateran Council of 1215 attempted to impose resolutions on Jewish communities throughout Europe. Pope Innocent III had sought to protect the Jews early in his reign, but had become increasingly frustrated with Christian-Jewish relations. His correspondences with secular authorities throughout Europe took an increasingly harsher stance against the Jews and by the Lateran Council of 1215, he had turned hostile. The Council enacted seventy canons, four of which dealt with the Jews (canons 67-70). The resolutions included “that Jews were to pay tithes from properties they acquired, to wear clothes that would distinguish them from Christians and to stay home during the Holy Week and the Easter holiday so as not to abuse the Christian Cult.” Additionally, the council agreed that “Jews are not to hold public office” and that “the

42 Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 19.
converts to the faith among the Jews may not retain their old rite.”

Innocent III expected the rulers of Western Christendom to implement the canons of the council without opposition. This, however, would not be the case in Cracow and the Polish lands.

German law also attempted to create restrictions for the Jewish community. The restrictions included prohibitions from eating and drinking with Christians, from providing medical services to Christians, from employing Christians as servants, from establishing new schools and synagogues, and from various other activities. There were additional limitations placed on Jewish “clergy” (duchownych), such as bans on going to taverns and on playing games.

The Polish authorities and the Polish Church, however, ignored most of the legislation or were slow to put these resolutions into effect. Instead in 1264, the Jewish communities received their first written privilege spelling out their rights and obligations from Prince Bolesław the Pious (Pobożny) in the Duchy of Kalisz. His statute became the standard formula for Jewish privileges—later reconfirmed by King Casimir the Great and King Casimir IV Jagiellon and developed into part of the “Legal Statutes” of Jan Łaski in 1506. The tolerance of Judaism and other religions in the Kingdom of Poland and in Cracow continued through the reign of the last Jagiellonian King, Zygmunt II August, and was unusual in Europe at this time. In 1556, this tolerance alarmed papal nuncio and Bishop of Verona, Luigi Lippomano, and the Jesuit, Alfonso Salmerón:

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43 Moore, Pope Innocent III, 239.
45 Groicki, Porządek Sądów, 59.
It does not appear that the matters of the kingdom can have a good influence on religion, given that such novelties have corrupted nearly all the nobility. After this, they had some other discussions with the king, and with other Catholic lords, and they have shut the doors so tightly against any changes, that they have given us all too much work and dismay. Likewise, speaking with a secretary of the king, a friend of ours, about the subject of some college in the kingdom in order to help with religion, I found not only difficulty, it appears to me, rather an impossibility for this, given how things currently are.\textsuperscript{48}

The laws regarding the Jewish people in Poland ensured their status as “Servant of the King’s Treasury” meaning, they were subject to the authority of the king and under his protection.\textsuperscript{49} This assured them “the protection of state jurisdiction, while at the same time granting them self-jurisdiction in cases concerning Jews only.”\textsuperscript{50} It also gave the Jewish community a large degree of autonomy.

The autonomy allowed the Jews to organize a central representative body known as the Council of the Four Lands (\textit{Va’ad arba aratso})—Great Poland, Little Poland, Russia, and Volhynia—and the Council of the Land of Lithuania. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the Council generally met once or twice a year, in the spring and autumn, and “was responsible for negotiating with the Crown the level of Jewish taxation and for ensuring that the poll tax, the principal tax on Jews, was levied by local communities.”\textsuperscript{51} The Council also looked after “the Jewish quarter and the associated administrative arrangements, relations with the

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{“No parece que las cosas del reyno puedan tomar algun assiento bueno en la religion, por estar la nobleza del quasi toda corronpida destas novedades. Después desto se an hecho algunos otros razonamientos con el rey, y con algunos otros señores cathólicos, y hálannse tan cerradas las puertas para hazer algún fructo, que á todos nos a dado harto trabajo y desconsolatión. Assimismo hablando con un secretario del rey, amigo nuestro, sobre el assunto de algún collegio en el reyno para ayuda de la religión, hallé no solamente difficultad, como á mí me parecia, mas aun imposibilidad para ello, standing las cosas como están.” Alfonso Salmeron, \textit{Epistolae P. Alphonsi Salmononis Societatis Jesu} (Matriti, Typis G. Lopez del Horno, 1906), 132-133.}


\textsuperscript{50} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 21.

townspeople and the local authorities, prevention of economic competition, supervision of business ethics and prices; it campaigned against luxuries, and at the same time it cared for children’s education, the study of Torah and yeshivot, medical assistance, and support for the poor and the wayfarer.”

By the 1560s, the Council of the Four Lands consisted “altogether some tens of representatives” and the Council of Land of Lithuania consisted of nine heads of provinces and three rabbis. The goal of the council was to “influence not only the state authorities and high officials but also the lower levels of the Commonwealth’s constitutional structure in an effort to gain the nobles’ goodwill and consequently get their demands backed in the dietines as well as in the Diet.” This reinforced the Jewish position as “a permanent and necessary element of the social reality.”

Jewish-Christian Relations in Cracow

The Jewish-Christian interactions in Cracow show the predominantly amicable relationship between the two communities, the success of the Jewish population, and the lack of enforcement of the resolutions of the Lateran Council by the king, city, and Polish Church. For example, one of the resolutions of the Lateran Council was to isolate the Jewish community from the Christians. In Cracow, the authorities did not enact the resolution and it was not until 1564 that King Zygmunt II August prohibited Cracow’s Christian citizens from settling in Jewish towns. As a result, there was no strictly defined Jewish ghetto in Cracow and Jews freely lived

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in the area between Gołębia Street and Św. Tomasza Street (vicus Judeorum)—around the road known as Jewish Street (Żydowska).\textsuperscript{57} The area was home to Christian property, the church of St. Anna, the Collegium Maius, and at least two synagogues.\textsuperscript{58} According to Daniel Tollet, Jews typically inhabited three-story buildings with “15 to 20 families, that is by 40 to 100 persons.”\textsuperscript{59} The wealthiest Jewish families of Cracow, such as the Bocian, Horowic, and Jekeles families could afford individual or multiple houses.\textsuperscript{60} Members of the Jewish community also served as \textit{servitores} and lived at the royal court, thus giving them access to the king and the most influential people in the kingdom.\textsuperscript{61} Additionally, there is evidence from customs registers which shows signs of cooperation between Jewish and Christian merchants, “possibly indicating the existence of trade partnerships.”\textsuperscript{62} The favorable conditions and tolerance of the Jewish people encouraged additional settlement in Cracow and in turn, the Jewish population flourished. This allowed the Jewish community of Cracow to assume primacy in the Council of the Four Lands, followed by the Cracow province, and to assume a position of prominence among European Jewish populations.\textsuperscript{63}

Although rare, especially when compared to other parts of Europe, there were instances where the amicable relationship between the Jewish and Christian populations of Cracow broke down and caused conflict. Jerzy Wyrozumski argues that origins of the anti-Semitism stem from

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\textsuperscript{57} Bożena Wyrozumska, \textit{Żydzi w Średniowiecznym Krakowie: Wypisy Źródłowe z Ksiąg Miejskich Krakowskich (Jews in Medieval Krakow: Selected Records from Cracow Municipal Books)}, (Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1995), 15.
\textsuperscript{58} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 20.
\textsuperscript{60} Tollet, “The Private Life of Polish Jews,” 48.
\end{flushleft}
various reasons: Jews rarely assimilated, they maintained their own faith and religious rituals, they engaged in usury, etc.\textsuperscript{64} This led to rumors and accusations, which were common throughout Europe: ritual murder of Christian children, host desecration, poisoning food and water, arson, etc.\textsuperscript{65} When tensions between the Christian and Jewish communities escalated, riots and pogroms occurred. However, the outbreak of anti-Jewish unrest was rare in Cracow and there is only evidence for two such disturbances during the Jagiellonian period. Jan Długosz in the \textit{Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland} described the first incident in 1407 as an act of God’s righteous judgement.\textsuperscript{66} The cause of the turmoil was the news that “Jews living in Cracow killed a Christian child and used its blood for nefarious purposes, and also that they stoned a priest who came to administer the last rites to the child.”\textsuperscript{67} The second episode of violence occurred in 1496 during an anti-Turkish crusade.\textsuperscript{68} The description of the event offers much less detail: “Also, many Jews were killed by the crusaders of Cracow and then, from the mandate of the king, Jan Albert, the Jews began to stay in Kazimierz, because earlier the Jews had remained in Cracow near the church of St. Stephan, where the Collegium Maius now is, but in the end, they were permitted in Kazimierz.”\textsuperscript{69} A series of court cases involving a certain Maragk and Jacob from the \textit{Acta Advocatalia Cracoviensis} provide supporting evidence on this episode of violence.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{64} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 17.
\textsuperscript{65} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 17.
\textsuperscript{67} Długosz, \textit{The Annals of Jan Długosz}, 366.
\textsuperscript{68} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 18.
\textsuperscript{69} “Tunc eciam cruciata predicabatur contra Turcum et alios infidels per prefectum legatum [pater Iohannes Vitrearitori] et aliqui frateres nostri simplices, aliqui indevoti, quibus carcer erat claustrum, nec contra tentamenta sua scientes preliare, crucem asumerant. Iudei quoque multa a cruciferis Cracovie interempti sunt et in Cazimiria tunc ceperunt ex mandato regis Ioahannis Alberti Iudei manere, quia Cracovie prius, ubi modo collegium maius, tandem circa ecclesiam sancti Stephani Iudei comorati sunt et inde ad Cazimiriam licenciati.” \textit{Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki Dziejowe Polski}, vol. 5 (Krakow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejetności, 1864), 285-286.
\textsuperscript{70} See court case numbers 1170, 1172, 1174, and 1175. Wyrozumska, \textit{Żydzi w Średniewiecznym Krakowie}. 
In addition to limited evidence of violence against the Jewry of Cracow, there is equally little indication of tension created from Judaizing in the city. In the chapter “Judaizers in Poland in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century,” Zdzisław Pietrzyk identifies two instances of Judaizing in Cracow. The first example mentions that a merchant’s employee in Constantinople, Samuel from Cracow, had converted to Judaism. The second example is that of Katarzyna Weiglowa, the widow of Melchior Weigl, a merchant in Cracow. Weiglowa refused to believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the “Son of God” and therefore, on April 19, 1539, the authorities sentenced her to death by burning at the stake. However, Pietrzyk suggests that the sentencing was not strictly based on apostasy:

The burning of Weiglowa took place at a time of fierce competition between the Kraków merchants and Jewish merchants from Kazimierz, as well as a looming Turkish threat after the Turks’ success in Hungary. Jews were believed to be Suleiman’s allies and this, when linked to the trade war in Kraków, makes the sentence passed on Weiglowa, who was known to have been inclining towards Judaism for many years, come as no surprise; it was the sad consequence of the situation in Kraków at that time.

Both of the examples of apostasy in Cracow, show that not only were there few instances of Judaizing, but when it did occur, it did not create significant tension between the Christian and Jewish communities. Undoubtedly, these are not the only cases involving conversion from Christianity to Judaism, however, a high rate of conversion is unlikely. The conversion of Christians to Judaism occurred in individual cases and not on a larger scale. In contrast, the municipal records from Cracow show a low rate of conversion of Jews to Christianity—identified as *Judei baptisati* or *neophitae* in the sources. In 1,179 court cases, only 110 involve

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individuals labeled as apostates (9.3%) and of those 110, there is a maximum of thirty-three unique individuals and six unspecified.\textsuperscript{74} The limited evidence for anti-Semitism in Poland has led Wyrozumski to conclude: “It would be hard to obtain from these examples a clear picture of the size and range of these riots and pogroms…But if Jewish people did not emigrate from Poland but, on the contrary, immigrated to it, then medieval Poland cannot have been among the countries most hostile to them.”\textsuperscript{75}

The Public House and the Jewish Population

The success of the community in Cracow allowed the Jews of the city to expand economic activities in trades, such as moneylending, trading, tax collecting, toll managing, artisanry, farming, brewing, inn keeping, and managing Cracow’s salt mine in Wieliczka.\textsuperscript{76} The monarchy welcomed the Jews “as a means of facilitating trading and commercial contacts with the developing European world.”\textsuperscript{77} Although the Lateran Council attempted to “circumscribe Jewish influence and restrict Jewish industry to specific occupations—above all to trading and money-lending,” the lack of enforcement of the resolutions and the support of the monarchy and the increasingly powerful szlachta allowed Jews in Cracow to assume various roles.\textsuperscript{78} For example, in the fourteenth-century, a certain Levko “lent money to kings, nobles, and burghers, managed royal salt mines, co-managed the mint, dealt in real estate, and owned several breweries.”\textsuperscript{79} Artur Eisenbach estimates that in towns, the professional structure of Jews included: “35-38 per cent in trade, 31-33 per cent in crafts, 13-15 per cent as arendors and

\textsuperscript{74} Wyrozumska, \textit{Żydzi w Średniowiecznym Krakowie}.
\textsuperscript{75} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 18.
\textsuperscript{76} Wyrozumski, “Jews in Medieval Poland,” 16-17.
\textsuperscript{77} Polonsky, “Introduction,” 3.
\textsuperscript{78} Polonsky, “Introduction,” 3-4.
\textsuperscript{79} Stone, \textit{The Polish-Lithuanian State}, 85.
innkeepers, 2-3 per cent in transport and 16-18 per cent in other trades.” ¹⁸⁰ In the countryside, the structure was significantly different: “the Jews in the country, arendors, innkeepers and taverners made up 80 per cent, distillers, brewers and wine-makers 4 per cent.” ¹⁸¹ This was due to the fact, as Józef Burszta has shown, that as the szlachta increased their monopoly on public houses in the countryside and enforced stricter propination laws, they increasingly relied on Jews as their agents. ¹⁸² Propination laws in this context being the privileges that gave Polish nobles in the countryside a monopoly over the production and sale of alcohol.

The situation for the Jews in public houses in Cracow was unlike that of in the countryside. Jews were not involved in running public houses to the same extent that they were in the countryside and the old, regrettable Polish stereotype of the Jewish innkeeper does not apply to Cracow. Unfortunately, the records for the Jewish community are not as numerous as for other elements of the city of Cracow because a fire destroyed the Jewish community’s pinkasim (minute books or record books) and archives during the Swedish invasion of 1655. ¹⁸³ Most of the records that survived the Swedish invasion, later perished during the Nazi occupation of Poland. Recent work by scholars, however, has revealed and continues to reveal new references to Jews in various records. The most extensive remaining information on Jews and public houses comes from court and tax records. The court and tax records show that Jews both functioned as publicans and attended public houses.

As publicans, Jews encountered the same types of patrons and experienced many of the same situations as their Cracowian neighbors. The Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a

Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum reveal that from April 25, 1557 to April 17, 1558 there were fourteen distinct publicans on Jewish Street (Platea Judeorum) who paid a total of 2,464 Grosze.\textsuperscript{84} Compared to the public houses in the remainder of the city, this was a small amount. On average, each individual paid 21.8 Grosze.\textsuperscript{85} A certain Mucharski was the most successful of the publicans on Jewish Street from 1557-1558, paying 1,441 Grosze (58.5\%) of the total, even brewing and paying twice on certain weeks.\textsuperscript{86} In comparison, in 1557-1558, Wawrziniec Biskupek paid twenty-two Grosze and Barthosz Krzizek paid twenty-three Grosze.\textsuperscript{87} In the following extant book, however, Biskupek and Krzizek surpass Mucharski in the amount of beer brewed and taxes paid. From July 23, 1565 to July 22, 1566, Biskupek paid 1,559 Grosze and Krzizek paid 1,124 Grosze, while Mucharski only paid 1,014 Grosze.\textsuperscript{88} In the subsequent book from June 24, 1567 to June 26, 1568, Mucharski no longer appears and a certain Anna Mucharska, likely his wife, paid to brew beer on five occasions.\textsuperscript{89} The reason for Mucharski’s disappearance from the records is unknown, perhaps death, and it seems his wife struggled to continue the business because she no longer appears in the records from February 16, 1569 to May 18, 1570.\textsuperscript{90} Biskupek and Krzizek continued to brew beer and pay taxes until at least August 13, 1584—the final date of the last extant record.\textsuperscript{91} By that year, Krzizek had surpassed Biskupek in production and taxes paid. Krzizek paid seven Florins, sixteen Grosze, and two

\textsuperscript{84} Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
\textsuperscript{85} Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
\textsuperscript{86} Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
\textsuperscript{87} Rkps 2368, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
\textsuperscript{88} Rkps 2369, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
\textsuperscript{89} Rkps 2370, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum.
\textsuperscript{90} Rkps 2371, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum.
\textsuperscript{91} Rkps 2379, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.
Solidos for brewing thirty-four barrels of beer, while Biskupek spent one Florin, ninety-four Grosze, and eight Solidos for nineteen barrels.\footnote{Rkps 2379, Regestrum Consignationis Actualium.}

The municipal records show that beyond the taxation of the public houses, the Jewish publicans dealt with the same situations as their counterparts. In the 1,179 extant sources from Cracow’s municipal books, thirty-seven of those deal with publicans and brewers (3.14%). Of those thirty-seven, twenty-seven are lawsuits dealing with monetary or material debts (73%). The remaining ten are concerned with property disputes (four), violence (three), and other matters (three).\footnote{Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniowiecznym Krakowie.} The municipal court system allowed Jews to protect their interests in the same manner that other publicans were able. The records indicate that the complex nature of the finances of public houses was of utmost importance to the publicans. The most common lawsuits involve simple entries: the accuser is suing the defendant for a certain amount for a certain good. For example, on September 4, 1500, “The Jew, Joseph, saved by the law of hospitality, insinuates against Nicolaus Lawgwicz for one Florin.”\footnote{“Joseph Judeus salvo iure hospitum insinuate contra Nicolaum Lawgwicz pro 1 floreno.” Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniowiecznym Krakowie, 243.} The publicans faced financial ruin if they did not collect their debts and protect their interests, and the various courts gave them the ability to prosecute other Jews and non-Jews for those sums.

Jews also attended public houses as clients. However, because of the destruction of the Jewish sources it is difficult to draw definite conclusions. It seems that the rate of Jews visiting the public houses is much lower than the rate of the other inhabitants of Cracow. Of the thirty-seven cases dealing with publicans and brewers from the municipal books, only three suggest that a Jew had visited a public house (.25% of the total).\footnote{Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniowiecznym Krakowie.} The first example from December 6,
1405 is a brief statement from the *Acta Dominorum Consulum Casimiriensium* which notes that the Jew Smerlyn of Cracow owes three Fertones for an Achtel (*octuale*) of beer. The next two instances are part of an ongoing lawsuit in 1442 between the Jewess Kachna and Kmotherin. Kmotherin had brought charges against Kachna for seven Fertones for beer. Kachna, however, did not appear for the trial and there are no other extant sources on the case. The limited evidence is inconclusive, and it is not possible to determine the role of Jews as clients of public houses. Whatever the extent of the social, political, economic, and intellectual encounters between Jews and Gentiles in public houses and within Polish society as a whole were, they were becoming less common in other parts of Europe.

Problems

Debt

One of the most significant issues that publicans confronted was debt, both that of patrons and their own. The publicans regularly faced the possibility of financial ruin because of their own inability to pay their debts or because patrons could not satisfy their arrears. The publicans and patrons owed money for a variety of goods, including wine, beer, vodka, fish, clothing, books, swords, coats of mail, and various others. They also owed money for services, such as borrowing a horse, wagon, or wheel. The patrons and publicans could purchase items on credit and later, often struggled to satisfy their debts. These financial troubles constantly played out in the courts. For example, between 1442-1443, in the thirty-two court cases involving

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96 “Item 3 fertones pro cervisia Judeo Smerlyn Cracoviensi pro uno octuali cervisie.” Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniewiecznym Krakowie, 50.
97 “Kachna Judeica iurabit post Conductum Pasche [8 IV] Kmotherin pro 7 fertonibus pro cervisia, quod ei non tenetur.” Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniewiecznym Krakowie, 87.
98 “Kachna Judeica non comparuit Smolczerine pro tribus marcis pro cervisia, per preconem Paulum ad faciendum.” Wyrozumska, Żydzi w Średniewiecznym Krakowie, 88.
publicans, twenty-seven or 84% were matters of debt.\textsuperscript{99} Publicans sought to collect debts in fifteen of those grievances and owed debts in twelve claims. In the thirty court cases involving publicans from the years 1476 to 1479, twenty-six or 87% of those proceedings involved debts.\textsuperscript{100} Between 1479-1481, fifty-five cases involved publicans and of those, forty-five or 82% dealt with debt.\textsuperscript{101} In subsequent years, the pattern continued: in 1481-1482, forty-seven of fifty-five (85%) cases involved debt, in 1483-1484, eighty-two of 120 (68%) cases, in 1486-1487, thirty-nine of forty-nine (80%), in 1489, seventy-one of 101 (70%), and in 1490, thirty-seven of fifty (74%).\textsuperscript{102}

A certain Laurence Tiszijancz, publican, was one of the most active publicans in the courts of the late fifteenth century and was involved in fourteen of the thirty courts cases from 1476-1479 both for his debts and for debts owed to him.\textsuperscript{103} Between 1479 and 1481, he appears twenty-four times, between 1481 and 1482, fifteen times, between 1483 and 1484, twenty-two times.\textsuperscript{104} On two occasions, between 1476 and 1479, Laurence seized individuals’ property in effort to recoup costs. The seizures included one hundred Florins from the deceased Mathew Nowak and all movable and immovable property from Brethin de Lubelaw.\textsuperscript{105} From 1479 to 1481, Laurence appropriated a horse from a Diltel for two-and-one-half Florins owed to him; from 1481-1482, all movable and immovable property from John Grandencz for eleven Florins.

\textsuperscript{99} Niwinski, Jelonek-Litewka, and Litewka, \textit{Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska}.
\textsuperscript{100} Rkps 83, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}.
\textsuperscript{101} Rkps 84, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}.
\textsuperscript{102} Rkps 85, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 86, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 87, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 88, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 89, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}.
\textsuperscript{103} Rkps 83, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}.
\textsuperscript{104} Rkps 84, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 85, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}; Rkps 86, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}.
\textsuperscript{105} Rkps 83, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 387, 406.
and all movable and immovable property from George Dipelt for twelve Florins.\footnote{Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 327; Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 532, 534.} Publicans resorted to the seizure of various items, including cloth, horses, and other property, as a last attempt to regain lost income. In 1483-1484, Laurence appears to have dealt with some sort of issues, perhaps illness, as he often allowed a plenipotentiary to represent him in the courts.\footnote{Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska).} The records also begin referring to him as the former (\textit{olim}) publican, either because he lost his position or died. By 1486/1487, he no longer appears in the records.

The \textit{Acta Rectoralia} also show that the most common problem of the public houses of Cracow was debt. In the court records covering the years 1469 to 1537, there were 3,380 total cases. Of the total cases, only eighty-three (2.5\%) dealt with public houses and publicans. Of those court cases, fifty-eight lawsuits dealt with debt (69.9\%), while only seven cases involved physical violence (8.4\%), five verbal violence (6\%), and one homicide (1.2\%).\footnote{Wladislaus Wisłocki, ed., \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno 1469} (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1893).} In the litigation from 1536 to 1580, there was a total of 658 suits. Of the 658 total cases, only twenty-seven (4.1\%) were matters concerning public houses and publicans; and five dealt with debt (18.5\%), while only eight of those lawsuits dealt with physical violence (29.6\%), one with verbal violence (3.7\%), and one with homicide (3.7\%).\footnote{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis, ed. Stanislaus Estreicher, vol. 2, \textit{Continens Annos 1536-1580} (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1909).} This means that in the 110 total extant cases involving publicans and public houses, sixty (57.3\%) were matters of debt.

Games and Gambling

Publican had to also deal with patrons playing a variety of games at the public houses. They played inside of the buildings and in the surrounding lots. The types of games played,
included cards (*chartarum*), checkers (*aleae*), dice (*taxillorum*), bones (*tesserarium*), and various others. Gamers often played for money, which drew the scrutiny of many critics. Drinking and gambling in the public houses of the city made for a lively atmosphere. This combination, however, could lead to quarrels and potentially, violent and dangerous situations. As a result, the authorities often discouraged gaming in the city and occasionally banned individuals from engaging in the activity for a specified duration of time or the remainder of their lives.

The sources do not elaborate on the exact type of game and therefore, it is difficult to determine which game the patrons were playing. For example, in 1528-1529, the rector of the university charged Mathew of Piotrków with “playing with cards and dice in excess.” Playing cards began to appear across Europe in the fifteenth century. The playing card makers guild of Cracow appeared in the records for the first time in 1560. One of the most popular card games in Central Europe at this time was known as *Karnöffel* or *Karnöffelspiel*. The game required a forty-eight-card deck and four players. During the game, “the dealer deals five cards to each person, with the first card face up and the rest face down. The lowest of the five exposed cards determines the trump suit for the deal.” The objective is to have the highest-ranking cards by trumping all others. Ultimately, “the winner of each hand is the team that wins the most tricks (three out of five)” and the team that wins “any multiple of four deals (one hand dealt by each player),” wins the game. Oskar Kolberg believes the inhabitants of the city also played

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110 “Die Lune quinta mensis Aprilis. Discretus Mathias de Pijothrcoff, studens, protunc scholam s. Anne inhabitans, ad presenciam rectoris per Universitatis servum cittatus, compravit, iuste et merito medio iuramento per sufficientem testium aliquorum examinacionem in superfluo lusu cartharum et taxillorum aliquando non ex alio magis quam ex lusu vivens et alios provocans etc., in presenciam rectoris delatus.” Wisłocki, *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis*, 714.
113 Wilkins, *Sports and Games*, 110.
Mayhem (Burdy), Landlord (Gospodarz), Swineherd (Świniarz), Idiot (Dureń), and Nose (Nos).\textsuperscript{114} Other card games played might have included Ombre, Trionfi, Tarot, or Blackjack.

The game checkers remains largely unchanged from its origins. Checkers was invented as the game Fierges in twelfth-century France and spread slowly from there.\textsuperscript{115} Each player began with twelve pieces and moved one piece forward diagonally. “If the place was occupied by an opponent’s piece but the space beyond was vacant, the player could ‘jump’ over the opposing piece and capture it.”\textsuperscript{116} When a piece reached the back row of the opponent’s side, it was kinged and then, could move forwards or backwards. To win the game, the player had to capture or jump over all of the opponent’s pieces. Chess and its German variation, Gala, may have also been popular in the public houses, as well as a variation of backgammon.

There were many different types of dice games played in the public houses of the city. Raffle was a three-dice game for an unlimited number of players. The “players placed stakes on the table and took turns casting the dice. The winner was the first player to have all three dice come up the same way.”\textsuperscript{117} Other possible dice games, included Sixe-ace or Fayles. Bones referred to a variety of games played with animal bones or dice. The most common game of bones was hazard or hasard. The name comes from the Arabic word for dice: Al’zahr or jazara.\textsuperscript{118} The dice were made from the astragals or the knucklebones of animals: “From the astragal it was a short step to six-sided dice: simply whittling down the rounded top of the

\textsuperscript{115} Wilkins, Sports and Games, 103.
\textsuperscript{116} Wilkins, Sports and Games, 103.
\textsuperscript{117} Wilkins, Sports and Games, 114.
\textsuperscript{118} Walter Endrei and László Zolnay, Fun and Games in Old Europe (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1986), 32.
knucklebone and marking each side with pips for points.”¹¹⁹ The game depended on the
combination of numbers rolled with two dice:

The game began with the caster rolling two dice to set the “main.” This number had to be
from 5 to 9, so if a higher or lower total came up the caster rolled again. Next the caster
rolled the two dice to determine the “chance.” The chance had to be from 4 to 10. While
rolling for the chance the caster could win or lose immediately. He won if he rolled a
“nick.” There were three nick rolls: duplicating the main, rolling a 12 when the main was
a 6 or an 8, or rolling an 11 when the main was a 7 (whence the expression “seven come
eleven”). If he rolled a nick, the caster won all the stakes. He lost if he threw an “out.”
There were four out rolls: a two or a three, called “crabs,” were always outs. In addition,
rolling a 12 if the main was a 5, 7, or 9; or rolling an 11 if the main was 5, 6, 8, or 9 were
outs.¹²⁰

The caster placed a bet against any number of other betters. If the caster won, he or she collected
all the winnings; and if they lost, the other players divided the prize.

The city officials often viewed gaming and gambling as problematic for the public weal
and tried to curb gaming among their inhabitants. For example, in 1397, it forbade Nicolaus
Kuchler from playing games “secretly or publicly” under the penalty of expulsion from the
city.¹²¹ The officials, in 1393, fined Andrea Kolaschconis one-half Marc for playing games and
in 1398, they fined Mathias Bernstad seven Marcs for the same crime.¹²² They ordered Michael,
a tailor, to stand trial, in 1394, “for gaming and unsheathing his knife.”¹²³ They also threatened a
certain Mocke with “thirteen weeks of imprisonment and the loss of his Cracowian citizenship”
“if he ever played for one Denarius or for any object.”¹²⁴ The city treated gambling with the

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utmost seriousness and threatened transgressors with fines, imprisonment, and banishment from
the city.

The efforts of the authorities and moralizing authors did not prevent the publicans from
banning individuals from playing games in the public houses of the city. The students, in
particular, disregarded the warnings of the moralizing authors and the legislation of the
authorities. For example,

In the aforementioned year [1497], on the aforementioned day [Thursday, December 14].
Paul, with wisdom, reported, that he cited the honorable lord Nicolaus Swatek, from the
nation of Mazovia, a bachelor student, according to the office of the lord rector, whom
the lord rector ordered, lest he come to the latest complaint against him, just as he came
with more frequency, because he is accustomed to make certain violations, visiting
taverns, playing games, inflicting violence on people, and other things, which do not
reflect his position, that he desist from this.¹²⁵

The rector also cited Nicolaus for living at an inn and not in the dorms with his fellow students
and not attending classes. The inhabitants, especially the students, often ignored the legislation of
the authorities and regularly visited public houses in order to play various games and to gamble.

Prostitution

Various sources suggest that publicans allowed prostitutes to visit and ply their trade in
the public houses of Cracow. The articles governing the taverner’s guild forbade publicans from

¹²⁵ “Anno, quo supra, et die, qua immediate supra. Paulus, sapiencia, retulit, se citasse Honorabilem dnum Nicolaum
Swatek, nacione de Mazovia, arcium autem baccalarium, ex officio dni rectoris, qui dnus rector mandavit, ne
ulterior querela contra eundem veniat, prout frequencior veniebat, quod idem quasdam insolencias de nocte solet
facere, tabernas visitando, ludos faciendo, violencias hominibus inferendo et alia, que statum suum non concernunt,
faciendo, quod ab huiusmodi desistat. Insuper et mandavit, ut in hospicio peramplius non moretur, sed aut ad bursam
aut ad scolam moraturus se conferat. Et nichilominus dnus rector propter pestem hinc ad Carnisprivium sibi
hospicium inhabitandi honestum indulsit.” Wislocki, Acta rectoralia aliae Universitatis, 417.
allowing such “shameful women” to linger in one’s establishment. B. Ann Tlusty has argued that prostitutes were not welcome in the public houses of early modern Germany because:

In the first place, the comforts of the tavern were available only at a price, which (at least in the case of urban taverns) beggars, down-and-outs, and the impoverished prostitutes of the early modern period could hardly afford. Second, urban tavern keepers were not desperate persons living on the edge of poverty; they were for the most part economically privileged members of society, whose interests would hardly be served by entertaining criminals, prostitutes, professional gamblers, or guests who could not afford to pay their tab.

The court records and the literature of the humanists of Cracow suggest otherwise and show that prostitutes were part of the crowd frequenting public houses. As noted earlier, the publicans and patrons dealt with debt on a regular basis and the customers could drink on credit, thus allowing more accessibility to the establishment. Many of the publicans were not members of the economically privileged as is evidenced by the fact that not a single city burgomaster identified their profession as a publican. The Roll of Students of the University of Cracow (Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego) from 1400 to 1551 also suggests that few publicans attended the university or sent their children to the school as there are only three students identified with the profession. The source, however, does not always explicitly state the profession of the

126 “5. Item cum ebrietas fons ac fundamentum est omnium vitiorum et excessuum, omnes et singuli eius contubernii fratres ac sores praecustodire debent et erunt adstricti, ne quid inhonesti in domibus suis admissant neque lusores publicos uel aliquas inhonestas mulieres domibus suis patiantur. Si autem aliqui fratrum de eiusmodi excessibus alterius fratris compertum habuerint, eos senioribus deferre debent, qui si a senioribus admonitus, mandatis seniorum parere noluerit, talesque excessus domi suae admiserit ad diuinae maiestatis offensionem, quae hoc nomine variis paenis ciuitates affligere solet, talis paena unius lapidis caerae ad communem contubernii usum per seniors punitur.” Acta Historica Res Gestas, 701.
128 Marcin Starzyński, Krakowska Rada Miejska w Średniowieczu (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2010), Aneks I.
129 In 1406, Johannes pincerne Stanislay pincerne de Bellauy; in 1418, Nicolaus thabernator de Sprottaw; and 1427, Nicolaus thabernatoris de Nissa. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska, eds., Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z Lat 1400-1508 [The Student Rolls of the University of Cracow from 1400-1508], 2 vols., (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2004); Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, and Izabela Skierska, eds., Metryka Czyli Album Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z Lat 1509-1551 [The Student Rolls or Album of the University of Cracow from 1509-1551] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010).
individuals and the number could, therefore, be greater. Publicans often struggled to satisfy their financial obligations and welcomed all income as is apparent from their indebtedness. Even if the prostitutes lacked the financial means to pay for accommodations in a public house on their own, their clients, who had at least enough wealth to afford their services, would pay for amenities. Additionally, the authorities struggled to enforce regulations on public houses and the church canonists “although they disapproved of it in principle and thought that it should be prohibited, still in practice they were prepared to tolerate prostitution and to justify its toleration in a Christian society.”130 This created an environment that was open to prostitutes.

Ioannes Dantiscus and other diplomats suggested the presence of prostitutes in public houses. In a letter written on November 21, 1516 to Sigmund von Herberstein from Augsburg, Dantiscus fondly remembers his encounters as a member of the Guzzlers and Gobblers.131 Dantiscus concluded the letter by telling von Herberstein that “the girls are waiting for them with weariness.”132 He also commemorated such interactions with the girls in the elegy Ad Gryneam.133 The papal nuncio, Fulvius Ruggieri, in describing the travels of the nobility and their use of public houses, wrote that the Polish lands did not lack “public women”: “On the road, the servants, unable to house themselves in cramped [public] houses, sleep separately except in winter, when all are together on straw, men and women, and the fact that they do not stop drinking and feasting on their travels, means that there are few modest women, and there is no lack of public ones.”134

131 Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, ed. Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, vol. 1, part 2 (Warsaw and Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008), 80nr8.
132 “Puellae cum taedio expectant etc.” Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence, 80.
133 Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence, 80nr8.
134 “W drodze słudzy nie mogąc pomieścić się w ciasnych domach śpią osobno mianowicie w zimie, wszyscy razem pokotem na słomie, mężczyźni z kobietami, a że i w podróży nie przestają pić i biesiadować, ztąd pochodzi że mało
The court records also suggest that prostitutes were present in the public houses of the city. For example, on May 16, 1442, during legal proceedings between Janowa, a publican, and a Schymon, over a debt owed for beer, Schymon accused Janowa of living dishonorably.\footnote{\textit{Dixit quod inhoneste vivit.}} This phrase frequently suggested prostitution and at times, the accusation of being a prostitute accompanied the expression.\footnote{\textit{Dixit quod esset meretrix et vivit inhoneste.}} The courts agreed with Schymon and ordered Janowa to appear before the courts in six weeks with honest and reputable men.\footnote{\textit{Janowa pincerna debet docere cum probis et honestis viris in sex septimanis, quod Schymon ei acomodavit duo vasa vacua. Schymon attamptavit in longiore termino et Janowa non venit.}} In university litigation from 1514, Master Stanislaw of Kazimierz accused John, a clergyman of the Blessed Virgin and rector at the school of Corpus Christi, of “loving Blaskowa, a woman of doubtful character, whom he secretly led to a suspicious locale, namely the public house.”\footnote{\textit{Item ad 2dum articulum, testi lectum et per eum intellectum, respondit testis, de huiusmodi generali infamacione sibi minime constare preter his, que auduit ex ore mgr Stanislai, dicentis eodem tempore, prout superius est expressum, quod mgr. Ioannes adamasset quondam mulierem suspicatam nominis Blaskowa, quam et ad certa loca suspecta, utputa cellaria, secum ducere deberet oculte.” Wislocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis}, 825-826.} Various witnesses corroborated the allegations and added details to the accusations. One witness suggested that he had heard that John was walking and drinking with Blaskowa, a second stated that he had come across the two in the cemetery and John promised to buy him a drink, and a third said that John promised to give him six Grosze for a drink.\footnote{\textit{Appelans eum canem et nihil aliud novisse, preter tabernas et scorta, dicto Stanislao Tharnawsky narrate, prout narrantur, negante.” Wislocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis}, 530-532.} In a different university court case from 1536, a Stanislaw Tharnawski called Lucas Koczmovski a dog and good for nothing in front of the tavern and harlots.\footnote{\textit{Appelans eum canem et nihil aliud novisse, preter tabernas et scorta, dicto Stanislao Tharnawsky narrate, prout narrantur, negante.” Wislocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis}, 825-826.}
Cleanliness

The cleanliness, or lack thereof, of the public houses and the hospitality of the publicans often drew praise or criticism from the patrons. The good reputation of an establishment attracted additional customers. Travelers noticed the condition of the public house and if pleased, made recommendations to fellow travelers. A bad reputation equally drew attention. An amicable publican convinced patrons to frequent their establishment and to spread good information about the place. Negative reactions, however, discouraged future customers from patronizing the establishment. Mikołaj Rej described the condition of a particular public house in his *The Life of a Good Man* (*Żywocie Człowieka Poczciwego*): “For what kind of cleanliness will be at his place? A dirty mug, a pot with one handle, panicles in the window, a table covered with a goat-hair cloth, he had left things everywhere, beer was spilled there; a tile plastered over, one could sow turnips on the bench, dirty bedding, a cold room, not swept, a hawk soiled the wall, so that one does not want such pleasures from this man.”

Dantiscus and his acquaintances likewise throughout their extensive correspondences described the conditions of public houses and the hospitality of publicans and provided recommendations or warnings to their readers. For example, in a letter to Dantiscus from Cracow on February 23, 1534, Jan van Campen, described a particular inn as “not exceedingly sumptuous.” In a letter from July 7, 1539, Johann Hannau wrote to Dantiscus that he has a

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141 “Bo zać tam będzie jakie ochędostwo u takiego pana? kofel brudny, garnek o jednym uchu, w oknie wiechcie, stół czamletowy, bo wszędy wzory po nim, kędy się piwo lało, kachel gliną zalepiony, na ławie by mógł rzepy nasiać, pościel brudna, izba zimna a nie umieciona, jastrząb ściany popryskał, owa aż się więc nie cze z onych rozkoszy od takiego pana.” Mikołaj Rej, *Żywot Człowieka Poczciwego [The Life of a Good Man]* (Wrocław: Zakład Imienia Ossolinskich Wydawnictwo, 1956), 216.

good hostess in Cracow who is providing him with all he needs. While on April 12, 1544, Marco de la Torre wrote to Dantiscus that he does not despise the inn at which he is staying in Cracow. These individuals regularly relied on the public houses in the city and they wanted to ensure that the accommodations satisfied their needs and met their standards.

Violence

The publicans faced violence, both verbal and physical, in the public houses throughout Cracow. The authorities of Cracow frequently issued legislation in an attempt to limit the physically and verbally violent conflicts occurring throughout the city. The rulers, however, struggled to implement their legislation on specific locations, such as the public houses. Although the rulers struggled with violations of their legislation, the lack of enforcement did not result in rampant violence in the locales. The public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty experienced low levels of serious and less serious forms of physically and verbally violent acts. The forms of violence and its extent in public houses remains a subject of considerable scholarly debate and Chapter Five examines the topic in greater detail.


Crime

The city employed quality inspectors or controllers (*affusores*) to ensure that publicans did not sell beer in the city that was watered down or adulterated. In an effort to maximize profits, publicans would doctor beer, for example, by adding lesser quality beers, such as *langwelle*, to better beers.\(^{145}\) The city issued a decree in 1396 to prohibit the publicans from such actions: “The taverners should not mix beer with *langwelle* or with *schaytha.*”\(^{146}\) Publicans also falsified measurements to pour smaller amounts for the consumer. The city council implemented laws to try to prevent the fraud. The first iteration of the laws stipulated that a publican caught manipulating measurements or altering beer six times could not sell for a month and paid a monetary fee.\(^{147}\) This apparently did not deter the swindling publicans because the subsequent legal codes banned the individuals from selling for a month after their fourth offense.\(^{148}\) The attempts by the city to prevent fraud were a continuous struggle against publicans. Publicans serving adulterated beer also drew the ire of the poets. For example, in *Master Polikarp’s Conversation with Death (Rozmowa Mistrza Polikarpa ze Śmiercią)*, the unknown author specifically singled out taverners serving tainted beer as those who will meet Death’s scythe.\(^{149}\) A certain publican, Helias, showed a complete disregard for the regulations of the city. Helias repeatedly violated the city law codes regarding the measurement of beer. According to the *Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg)*, the city imprisoned Helias for providing an unapproved amount of beer on the first stated occasion—it is not clear if this was

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\(^{145}\) Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 46.

\(^{146}\) Szujski and Piekosiński, *Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki*, 149.

\(^{147}\) Szujski and Piekosiński, *Najstarsze Księgi Rachunki*, 149.

\(^{148}\) Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 46.

his first violation overall. After the city “graciously freed him within eight days,” Helias again
violated the rules by providing an excessive amount of kolmarkt beer. The city responded by
banishing Helias from the city.150

The authorities tried to prevent the illegal sale of wine as well. On Saturday, May 13,
1517, the rector of the university presided over a case involving John Medyk, a citizen of
Cracow, and Stanislaus Kleczkowski, a publican of wine—John stood accused of allegedly
illegally purveying wine with Stanislaus. After hearing the witness testimonies, the rector later
determined that John was innocent of illegally selling wine.152 The witnesses, however, stated
that Stanislaus was illegally selling wine and not paying his workers.153 Stanislaus denied the
allegations, but could not find anyone to act as guarantor on his behalf.154 The rector, unable to
reach a final decision on the matter, ordered Stanislaus to remain in Cracow until the resolution
of the case.155 Stanislaus swore that he would not leave Cracow without informing the rector.156

The final decision of the rector is unknown because Stanislaus does not appear in any subsequent
extant litigation. Although the court determined that John was innocent of illegally selling wine,
it appears that Stanislaus was guilty of the violation. The extensive court proceedings
demonstrate that there was a legitimate concern about illegal wine sales and the authorities
attempted to limit this.

150 “Helias pincerna propter excessum illum, quod iuravit civitati iustam dare mensuram, pro quo, quod non fecit,
punitus a dominis per captivitatem. Postea gracieose dimissus infra VIII dies, iterum excessit in cervisia kolmarkt.
Statim sibi civitas fuit prohibita, ita quod non deberet eam amplius intrare, nec per regem aut quomodocumque et si
ingredetur, quod esset contra voluntatem civitatis. In vigilia Pasche anno predicto [17 IV].” Bożena Wyrozumska,
ed., Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg Miasta Krakowa 1360-1422 [The Book of Proscriptions and Complaints in Cracow
151 Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 570-571.
152 “Veneris quinta Iunii. Discretus Stanislaus Kleczkowski ad instanciam Ioannis Medyk per Ioannem, sapienciam,
cittatus, deposuit iuramentum corporale in manibus dni rectoris, innocenciam suam in propinacione vini
153 Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 572-574.
154 Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 574-575.
155 Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 574-575.
156 Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 575.
Publicans also attempted to sell alcohol beyond the designated time and during prohibited days. The town hall in Cracow rang a bell in the evening to notify the inhabitants and visitors of the city that the gates would be closing. The second bell of the evening notified the publicans that they could no longer sell alcohol for consumption on the spot, but could still sell for drinking at home.\textsuperscript{157} The beer sold for home consumption also had to be brewed on premises and not imported and distributed from a single open barrel.\textsuperscript{158} If the publican opened multiple barrels simultaneously, they risked confiscation of all barrels.

Overconsumption

There is a sense in a number of sources about concern for publicans with the overconsumption of alcohol or drunkenness of patrons. As B. Ann Tlusty has pointed out, this is not a concern about alcoholism because medieval and early modern thinkers did not conceive of the problem as a disease:

The science of alcoholism is a recent one, and the label “alcoholic” is in no way synonymous with the early modern application of the term “drunkard.” The concept of a physical addiction was not possible from the standpoint of anatomical knowledge of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Physicians of the early modern period could make no distinction between a drunken alcoholic and a drunken nonalcoholic, nor would they have considered an alcoholic who showed no outwards signs of intoxication to be a drunkard.\textsuperscript{159}

The medical authorities, however, did realize that habitual drunkenness was harmful to one’s health. Various sources criticized individuals for being intoxicated regularly and for their behavior as a result of their dependency on alcohol. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, for example,

\textsuperscript{157} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 47.
\textsuperscript{158} Kutrzeba, “Piwo w Średniowiecznym Krakowie,” 47.
\textsuperscript{159} Tlusty, Bacchus and Civic Order, 51.
criticized individuals for continuously drinking and therefore, neglecting their duties and turning towards slothfulness. He believed that people were spending so much time in taverns that “many master artisans very rarely are in their workshops” and that “many soldiers are being lazy, concerning themselves with nothing good, but only with drunkenness, beggary, and violence.” From this, he concluded that “all slothful and drunk people should be severely punished” and that the sale of alcohol should be curtailed. The city council tried to minimize the consumption of alcohol by issuing various drinking proscriptions, such as the aforementioned edict from 1390 forbidding the inhabitants of the city from being idle on Monday in an effort to minimize alcohol consumption on Sundays. The university officials, likewise, issued warnings to students against drunkenness. The court physician of King Zygmunt I, Jan Antoninus (1499-1543), translated De Bona Militum Valetudine Conseervanda Liber, a work by his son-in-law, Anton Schneeberger, which discouraged drunkenness and described the illnesses associated with it, in order to make it more accessible in the Polish lands. The authorities of the city began to see habitual drunkenness as an increasingly more serious problem and began issuing prohibitions against such behavior.

Conclusions

For publicans to run a successful and profitable public house, they needed to overcome many regulations and challenges and satisfy many financial commitments. As this study shows,
publicans unable to effectively navigate the obligations and directives could easily fall into debt and legal trouble. The patrons who could not pay their obligations could also easily incur arrears. Debt was the most prevalent problem for publicans and patrons, but it was not the only. These individuals also dealt with games and gambling, prostitution, cleanliness or lack thereof, violence, crime, and overconsumption. The Taverner’s Guild hoped to control the purveying of alcohol in the city, but laws allowing the burghers to sell alcohol on their own prevented the monopoly. Successful publican families often passed the enterprise to subsequent generations and could purchase an additional establishment to help generate profits for their progeny as shown by the Stiga family. The Jewish population also used public houses as a source of income and for the services the locations provided. The many problems facing the publicans would suggest that the public houses were a tense environment constantly on the brink of verbal and physical violence. The sources, however, that provide the perspective of the publicans and their public houses do not show reoccurring violent episodes, but instead reveal locations that functioned peacefully on a regular basis. In order to better reconstruct the environment of the public houses, to understand the situations occurring within these establishments, and to examine the extent of violence therein, Chapter Four considers the relationships between different socioeconomic groups and the locales.
Chapter Four: The Patrons and Clients of the Public Houses

A complete reconstruction of the public houses of Cracow not only requires an examination of the urban context, the structures, and the publicans, but also a study of the relationship between different socioeconomic groups and the locales. Just as public houses needed a dependable workforce to function successfully, they also depended on a regular and reliable clientele base to remain in business. As shown in Chapter Three, debt and financial ruin were a significant threat to many publicans, and the fortunes of a public house could change quickly. A large and diverse group of patrons and clients ensured the success and survival of the locale. This chapter uses the designations “patrons” and “clients” to describe two different relationships. Patrons were the individuals who invested in the public houses, while the clients were the individuals seeking the services of the locale. The publicans needed to provide sufficient accommodations, provisions, and services to ensure that their customers continued to frequent the establishment. A public house that could sufficiently provide for the needs of its clients earned a reputation, which the customers were sure to notify others about. As a result, a diverse group of clientele often frequented public houses. In Cracow, many publicans enjoyed the patronage and clientage of individuals from all socioeconomic strata, including clergy, ordinary residents, diplomats, and students and faculty of the university. This chapter does not examine all individuals who utilized the public houses of Cracow because that would require a monograph unto itself.

Instead, the purpose of this chapter is to study groups that represent various socioeconomic standings to provide a varied depiction of these groups and their relationship to the establishments, mostly as clients and patrons. The division between such groups was significantly more fluid than is suggested by such orderings because individuals could move
between these groups; however, an examination of such a schematic division reveals the different roles that public houses played for various people. The accounts of the clients and patrons provide a more extensive look into the daily occurrences of these establishments and reveal the types of situations that the clientele partook in. Their descriptions show that most customers used the public houses of the city for their intended purposes and avoided extracurricular activities, such as engaging in physical and verbal violence.

The Clergy and the Public House

The Polish Church in Cracow maintained a complicated relationship with the public houses of the city and its surroundings. On one hand, the Polish Church expected its servants to uphold its canons, which forbade drunkenness, dancing, fraternizing, singing licentious songs, playing games and gambling, soliciting prostitutes, and patronizing jongleurs and Goliards. It also discouraged its members from frequenting the public houses of city. On the other hand, a significant tenant of Christianity has been to provide food, drink, and shelter to the poor and to travelers or strangers. This meant that the Church facilitated services that provided aid and hospitality. For example, many monastic orders welcomed travelers to their monasteries or nunneries and gave alms for poor relief. The Church was also one of the largest landholders throughout Europe and public houses were desirable property. As a result, the Polish Church bought, sold, and inherited public houses and its members maintained these enterprises. The Polish Church continued to exploit the public houses for their financial benefits and did not prohibit its members from frequenting these locations entirely, but it hoped that the clergy would adhere to its mandates and not engage in what it deemed to be nefarious acts.

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The Polish Church attempted to enforce and uphold standards for the lay and religious clergy. This included regulating personal hygiene, appearances, and actions, such as visiting public houses. The Polish Church repeatedly issued “strict bans [for the clergy] on attending public houses, taking part in drunkenness, in dances, and in fraternal trysts, singing licentious songs (sometimes this included old ritual songs), playing games, such as bones and knobs [galki], participating in popular dances, and patronizing jongleurs and Goliards.”

When Gregory of Sanok became Archbishop of Lwów, he instituted new policies aimed at reforming the canons of the Polish Church. This included forbidding the clergy from preaching for a certain number of days if they had spent the day drinking in a public house or forbidding them from drinking too much the previous day. He also worked to keep priests from “giving themselves up to alcohol and other addictions.” He did not, however, forbid them from visiting the public houses. The warnings and decrees did not stop the clergy from visiting the public houses and the problem carried into the seventeenth century. In 1607, Bernard Maciejowski, the Primate of Poland, seeing the laxity of the Polish clergy, issued his Pastoral Letter to all the priests of the Polish lands to correct their negligence, including their keeping of concubines, frequenting taverns, playing bones, and many other actions.

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2 Jelicz, Życie Codzienne w Średniowiecznym Krakowie, 52.
4 “Ne tamen rude ingenium, remissa disciplina, in naturalem stuporem recidet ebrietatis et ceteris malis artibus se maniparet, apud se retinuit et quoad uixit, humanae utiae omnia necessaria illi affluenter impendit, tanquam in eo nutriendo quotidie penderet erroris sui poenas.” Callimachi, Vita et Mores Gregorii Sanoei, 60-61.
The clergy of the city frequented public houses on many occasions and their behavior resulted in criticism and punishment. On May 18, 1506, John the Bishop of Cracow brought charges against three clerics for certain notorious excesses. John Ribiczky, mansioner of the Church of St. Michael, Peter Prosschowita, and John Corws, priests of the Cathedral of Cracow, stood accused of visiting taverns and inhonest and scandalous places day and night and for walking around with prostitutes. The punishment for the infractions are unknown. Various writers also criticized the actions of the clerics in public houses. For example, in Master Polikarp’s Conversation with Death (Rozmowa Mistrza Polikarpa ze Śmiercią), the unknown author places parish priests on Death’s list because they drink too much beer. Mikołaj Rej’s A Brief Discussion among Three Persons: A Lord, a Burgomaster, and a Priest (Krotka rozprawa między trzema osobami, panem, wójtem a plebanem), likewise shows the consumption and greed of a priest in a public house.

The punishment and criticism did not discourage the clergy of the city from visiting the public houses. On one occasion in 1545, a large retinue of the clergy, nobles, and their households “sat collectively, honorably, and praiseworthily” in the inn of Sophia Lorinczowa

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near the Jerusalem Dormitory. The clients included Lord Jacob Uchanski, canon of Cracow and secretary of the monarchy, the household of the bishop of Cracow, Lord John Piotrowski, Lord Podlodowski, and more than twenty others. The students of the university, unfortunately, took this opportunity to throw stones into the establishment resulting in multiple lost teeth, bloody teeth, and a bleeding headwound. The clergy, as active members of Cracowian society, employed the public houses of Cracow for their various services. Not all members, however, could control their impulses and could behave in a manner that properly represented the church. Church authorities responded by issuing edicts to limit clerical abuses, but given the frequency of such decrees, its efforts often failed.

The Polish Church actively bought, sold, and inherited public houses throughout Cracow and the surrounding area. A public house was a valuable piece of property, which supplemented the income of church and monastic lands. Rulers regularly awarded religious institutions with public houses or land on which such establishments existed. For example, in 1254, Bolesław V the Chaste granted the monastery in Zwierzyniec, just outside the city walls, property, including a tavern. In 1480, the tavern was still part of the holdings of the monastery. On at least three separate occasions, Jan Długosz acted as witness during transactions in which the church

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10 “Ubi cum familiaribus reverendissimi domini Cracoviensis episcopi moderni electi quiete, honeste et laudabiliter collacionaliter sedentibus videlicet domino Podlodowski, Andrea item Ciessielski, Paulo Lassowski, Ioanne Strakowski, Stanislaw Smolenski, Felice Krzessim et alius quampluribus circiter XX numero.” Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis, 117.

11 “Iactus praeterea lapidum instar sagittarum et ita percussionis lapide in os suum vulnerisque inflicti et contuse pene ad unius atque alterius dentis evacuacionem evulsionemque et sanguinosacionem (sic), alienumque iniuriam ad animum iuxta statutum regni aestimaturum. Item ingenui Nicolai Dambek, notarii publici, memorati domini secretarii ac clerici in minoribus constitute, similiter ad proposicionem, occasione atroci vulneris cruenti in caput tunc ad dictum hospicium Lorinczova eodem tempore vesperi quieute eunti praeter spem miserabiliter retro inflict ed alienum iniurium ad quingentos florenos aestimaturum.” Acta Rectoralia Almae, 117.
acquired public houses. For example, on May 14, 1437, in his capacity as rector in Kłobuck and canon in Cracow, Długosz witnessed the granting of a tavern in Bolechowic to Stanisław Skrzechow from Zbigniew, the Bishop of Cracow. His *Book of the Benefices of the Diocese of Cracow (Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis)* provides a glimpse at the extensive holdings of the Cracowian Diocese and the extent to which it owned numerous public houses in the city and in the surrounding area. For instance, in 1529, the Cathedral of Cracow collected rent from the Rzanka Tavern, while in the same year, the parish church of Zielonki collected rent from a tavern in the town. From at least 1470 to 1480, the tavern in Czaple Wielkie belonged to the parish priest and he collected three Grosze in rent annually. At that same time in Kantorowice, the Cistercians collected three Grosze of rent annually from their public house. The public house in Mistrzowice passed between the possessions of a vicar and scholastic of Cracow and the Cistercian abbot of Mogiła. In 1569, Jacob Crumphelt, the parish priest of Luborzyca, attempted to gain ownership of a tavern in Luborzyca. The heirs of Marcus Manyka, a deceased taverner, however, contested the claim in court and the judge ruled that the tavern would remain the possession of Marcus’ inheritors and not become the property of Jacob. They would, however, need to pay two Marcs annually to the parish—one for the parish priest and one for the ministers. The Polish Church in Cracow actively sought to possess taverns in and around the city of Cracow as a means of increasing its wealth.

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12 Stanisław Gawęda, ed., *Długossiana: Studia Historyczne w Pięćsetlecie Śmierci Jana Długosza [Historical Studies Marking the Five Hundred Years since the Death of Jan Długosz]* (Krakow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1980), 297.


The clergy of Cracow, as owners and managers of public houses and locations for hospitality, sold alcohol from their establishments. When on April 23, 1456, Casimir IV Jagiellon banned the import and sale of foreign beers in all establishments in the city, this included from “monasteries and the houses of the clerics.”\textsuperscript{15} The punishment for infractions of this edict was to be excommunication.\textsuperscript{16} On May 24, 1510, John the Bishop of Cracow brought charges against John the bookbinder and mansioner of the Church of St. Michael for continuing to be a taverner. The punishment for him, if he continued to cause a scandal for the church in Cracow, was three months of incarceration.\textsuperscript{17} The sale of alcohol supplemented the income of the religious institutions and they competed with the publicans for customers.
The Common Residents of the City

The common residents of the city regularly visited the public houses and utilized the many services of the locales. The city needed the labor of many different people in numerous occupations to operate successfully and some of these individuals rewarded their efforts by spending time in the public houses. These clients normally employed the public houses on a regular basis for their intended purposes, as discussed in Chapter Two. These persons, however, on occasion, committed various types of violations, including failing to satisfy a debt, causing physical and verbal violence, committing theft, defaming others, and other infractions. Most of the extant court cases explicitly regarding public houses involved the greater population and the publicans. The litigation demonstrates that any number of professions could be found in these establishments—from poor peasants to wealthy merchants. For example, in 1476-1479, John Bilcze and Albert Praspol, servants of the burgomaster, owed nine Florins to Anna Puchnaczkowa for a half barrel of wine. In 1479-1481, Peter, a goldsmith, owed John, a publican, fourteen Grosze for wine. Peter was not present for the first, second, and third attempt to resolve the disagreement in court. While in 1481, Paul, a servant of Lord Langpeter, wounded Paul, a publican.

The publicans of the city likewise committed various violations against the common residents. For instance, in 1476, Laurence, a publican, owed Nicolaus Yagel, a merchant, four Florins for an unknown service or commodity. Laurence asked the burgomaster to postpone the judgement for two weeks, but he failed to show up for the subsequent hearing. Laurence also

18 Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 327.
19 Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 62.
20 Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 14.
21 Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 12.
22 Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 19.
owed money to Swetkonis, a bathhouse owner, and John Slawijsk, a tailor, in addition to various other creditors.\textsuperscript{23} While Stanislaus, a taverner, owed Martin, an armorer, thirteen Grosze for an unknown service or commodity.\textsuperscript{24} The publicans interacted with the common men and women of the city on a daily basis and this meant that there was always the potential for violations.

Appendix E provides a sample list of the common residents who were involved in infractions with publicans during 1442-1443.

The common residents of Cracow also became embroiled in property disputes with the publicans of the city. Property was a valuable commodity and it was important for the inhabitants of the city to protect their interests. Publicans also sought out property in favorable locations in order to ensure a reliable customer base and this could also lead to disputes. On April 2, 1574, for instance, Jan Gołębiowski, a taverner, and his wife Sophia, summoned the city inspectors to resolve an inheritance dispute with Paul, a goldsmith, and his wife, Anna.\textsuperscript{25} The women were the daughters of the recently-deceased owner, Matys, a cook near St. Gertrude’s Church. On September 11, 1584, Jan Socha, a publican, summoned the city inspectors over a dispute with Franciszek, a bricklayer, over a shared wall.\textsuperscript{26} In the subsequent year on July 8, Jędrzej Węgrzyn, a butcher on Hospital Street, summoned the inspectors to resolve a dispute with his neighbors Bartosz Matuszowicz, a taverner, and his wife, Barbara, Jan, a blacksmith, and his wife, Regina, the heirs of Wincent, a blacksmith, and Regina Grzegier, the wife of a locksmith.\textsuperscript{27} Jędrzej had

\textsuperscript{23} Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ks\'iega W\’ojtowska Krakowska), 268; Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ks\’iega W\’ojtowska Krakowska), 440.

\textsuperscript{24} Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ks\’iega W\’ojtowska Krakowska), 361.


\textsuperscript{27} Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones 1578-1591, 358.
rebuilt a shared wall and wanted his neighbors to help pay for the restoration of the crumbled structure, but they had refused. The inspectors were to determine if the wall was shared and therefore, warranting collective costs or if the responsibility remained solely Jędrzej’s. These cases and many others show that the publicans were intricately involved with their surrounding community and they regularly interacted with the ordinary residents of the city.

Despite the occasional conflict and disagreement between the publicans and the commoners of the city, the publicans often served as witnesses for court cases involving the ordinary residents of the city. The publicans provided services to the population on a regular basis and this frequent interaction could create trustful relationships. Their consistent contact with numerous individuals helped them to be well-informed of the happenings in the area. This often meant that the publicans were knowledgeable and trustworthy individuals for the community and they often served as witnesses and guarantors in court cases. In 1479, for example, Simon, a taverner, acted as a witness for Matys, a brewer. In 1483, Kasper, a publican, appeared as a witness in front of the burgomaster and his council. While in 1486, Blasio, a taverner, amongst other individuals, served as guarantor to the testament of Nicolaus Liszi, an operator of the city scales. On April 28, 1570, Albert Wargowski, a taverner, and his wife Sophia, acted as witnesses for the city inspectors as they divided up the property of Wolff Kleyn on Cobbler’s Street for his heirs. The commoners depended on the services provided by the publicans and this often extended into bearing witness reliably during court cases.

The common men and women of the city regularly interacted with members of various socioeconomic positions at the public houses of the city. Multiple court records speak to the

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28 Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 121.
29 Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 11.
30 Rkps 87, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Ksiega Wójtowska Krakowska), 157.
31 Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quartaliensium Recognitiones et Divisiones 1568-1577, 106.
interaction between different socioeconomic groups at the locales. This is particularly apparent from university litigation in 1572 involving the Elder of the Pauper’s Dormitory—the venerable Master Mathew of Przedbórz. On Wednesday, August 21, the rector and his committee brought charges against Martin for multiple violations. Among the violations was Martin’s predilection for taverns:

Moreover, because the aforementioned Master Mathew is found drunk almost daily, not merely in his own home, but, which is absurd, in public taverns here in Cracow drinking and playing games with peasants in great offence of the University and clerics, the lord rector and those sitting with him decree that every time he is found sitting and drinking in a public tavern, for whatever exchange, without mercy, he ought to pay half a Florin.  

The rector decided that Mathew had been negligent and had clearly violated multiple University regulations and therefore, needed a severe reprimand. Mathew, a member of the university milieu, was quite fond of drinking with others, including peasants, and did not separate himself from the ordinary residents of the city. This example suggests that there was no mechanism in this public house to separate distinct socioeconomic groups and the groups interacted regularly.

The Diplomats

The public houses of Cracow were integral institutions for the diplomacy of the kings and city officials. The Kingdom of Poland, during the Jagiellonian era, moved towards functioning as a noble democratic monarchy. Kings dominated politics by creating domestic and foreign policy, proposing legislation, and vetoing bills; but their actions were increasingly subject to the

32 “Ceterum quia prefatus mgr. Mathias quottidie fere ebrius inventur, non in propria domo duntaxat, sed quod absursum est, in tabernis publicis hic Cracovie cum rusticis ibiendo et ludendo in magnum scandalum Universitatis et cleris, proxinde idem dnon rector cum sibi assidentibus decrevit, ut quocienscunque sic in publica taberna sedens et bibens repertus fuerit, pro qualibet vice absque omni misericordia medium florenum solvere debebit.” Wladislaus Wislocki, ed., Acta rectoralia alae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno 1469 (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Craoviensis, 1893), 702.
33 Wislocki, Acta rectoralia alae Universitatis, 702-703.
approval of the Sejm (diet). The Sejm met at irregular intervals and at various locations because the gathering required the kings’ summoning. Cracow, as the preferred residence of the kings in Royal Poland, hosted twenty-nine Sejm sessions between 1493 and 1569—the most of any location. Additionally, while the general Sejm was not in session, local Sejmiki (dietines) could meet to perform local and national functions, such as electing deputies to the Sejm, editing resolutions, allocating tax responsibilities, distributing funds, etc. Attending the Sejm and the Sejmiki required significant investment of both time, for participation and travel, and expenditure from the king, the szlachta (nobility), and the diplomats. The Sejm for the publicans, however, as was clear in Chapter One, was an economic boon.

Diplomats serving the king and other officials, even on matters of utmost importance, routinely employed public houses during their travels and work. The diplomats used the establishments for their many services wherever they traveled. The inns, taverns, and alehouses also provided the diplomats with places to learn about the latest news, gossip, and public opinion. The locales likewise served as “post offices” where the diplomats could receive their letters. They were trusted locations for sensitive diplomatic negotiations. They offered places where the emissaries could fraternize as well. The king expected emissaries to utilize the public houses throughout Europe and provided for initial expenses. If diplomats incurred expenditures beyond the primary stipend, they would cover the costs out of their own pocket and the exchequer would reimburse envoys for their services on a given assignment. For example, in 1479, King Casimir IV Jagiellon covered the expenses of Bohemian diplomats in the sum of

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twenty-three Marcs, twenty-one Grosze, and four Denarius for “an inn and necessities,” and four Marcs, three Fertonis, and six Grosze for their wine consumption. The evidence shows that the employment of public houses for diplomatic purposes was common practice throughout the Jagiellonian Age for both emissaries of the Polish court and other polities, such as the Holy Roman Empire.

The Polish diplomat and chronicler, Jan Długosz (1415-1480), offers firsthand insight into how the diplomats employed the public houses in Cracow during the reigns of the Jagiellonian kings Władysław III of Varna and Casimir IV Jagiellon. Długosz was born in the town of Brzeźnica (southern Poland today) to a noble family of middle standing. King Władysław Jagiełło had awarded his father, Jan Długosz of Niedzielska, the position of village elder (Starosta Latin: Capitaneus) of Brzeźnica for his services at the Battle of Grunwald.

Following the completion of his studies at the parish school in Nowy Korczyn, the younger Jan Długosz began attending the University of Cracow, but after three years, he instead chose to accept a position as a notary for the Bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389-1455).

Under Oleśnicki, from 1433 to 1455, Długosz learned the inner workings of the royal and episcopal courts in Cracow and positioned himself for advancement. Długosz, following Oleśnicki’s death, entered the service of King Casimir IV Jagiellon and in 1467, became the tutor of the royal children. It was during this time that he began writing his Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland (Annales seu Cronici Incliti Regni Poloniae). The king entrusted Długosz with numerous diplomatic missions, including escorting Władysław II

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37 “Summa duntaxat in hospicio pro necessariis per Bohemos receptis facit viginti tres mrc. viginti unum gr. et IIIIor den. / Summa pro vino per eos in quartis receptor facit quatuor mrc. tres frt. et sex gr.” Stanisław Gawęda, Zbigniew Perzanowski, and Anna Strzelecka, eds., Rachunki Królewskie z Lat 1471-1472 i 1476-1478 [The Royal Accounts from 1471-1472 and 1476-1478] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1960), 112.

38 Michał Bobrzyński and Stanisław Smolka, Jan Długosz, Jego Życie i Stanowisko w Piśmiennictwie [Jan Długosz, His Life and Place in Literature] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Konstantego Hr. Przedziececkiego, 1893), 3.

39 Bobrzyński and Smolka, Jan Długosz, Jego Życie, 13.
(Władysław II Jagiełłończyk) to Prague in order to assume the Bohemian crown in 1471. Casimir chose Długosz in 1480 for the archbishopric of Lwiv (Lwów), but he died on May 19 in Cracow, two weeks before Pope Sixtus IV confirmed the appointment.

Długosz’s *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland (Annales seu cronici incliti regni Poloniae)* offers an account of more than 500 years of Polish and European history from the perspective of a valued member of the king’s court and gives insight into the political, social, cultural, religious, and academic developments of the highest levels of society, which included their utilization of public houses. The work covers events from the historical foundation of the Polish lands in 965 to 1480, the year he died in Cracow. Długosz’s services to the king gave him personal diplomatic experience from which he could draw to chronicle the events of the Polish kingdom. Although Długosz does not relate his own familiarity with public houses, he does provide insight into the use of these institutions in diplomacy. For example, in 1440, when Władysław III was negotiating for the Hungarian throne, he sent “his brother, Casimir, to go out to greet the Hungarian envoys, whom he ordered to be lodged in the best inns and to be provided lavishly with all that they may need.”

The hospitality of the king was on full display when guests visited his city. On a different occasion in 1468, King Casimir IV Jagiellon housed an envoy from George Poděbrady (Jiří z Poděbrad) in a hostelry in Cracow. After receiving assurances from Casimir that he would intervene on Poděbrady’s behalf in his hostilities with Matthias Corvinus (Hunyadi Mátyás) and the papacy, the envoy returned to his accommodations. The envoy then “sets out for home laden with the gifts that have been sent to his hostelry.”

The Polish kings regarded the public houses in Cracow highly enough to lodge important visitors

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there during negotiations and did not believe housing the emissaries in such establishments would offend them. The hospitality of the kings knew no bounds and they not only provided the diplomats with a place to lodge, but also all that they may need and gifts.

Długosz’s account suggests that the king himself had stayed at a public house in 1439. King Casimir had traveled to Wrocław to meet with Bishop John of Siena, Bishop Alphonse of Burgos, King Albert of Hungary with a number of his prelates and nobles, the archbishop of Gniezno, and others to discuss the future of the crown of Bohemia. After initially agreeing to the marriage of Casimir’s son, Władysław, to Albert’s daughter, Elizabeth, in exchange for Albert’s renunciation of the crown, Albert changed his mind and began adding other stipulations. According to Długosz, “This so angers the Poles that, without even breaking off the discussions, they make a rather disorderly departure. Albert is hurt by this behaviour and tries to restrain them. The Poles, though thinking it shameful to return to their inn once they are in the saddle, yield to the tears, rather than the pleading of the papal legate.” Although it is unclear as to whom “the Poles” refers to, it seems to suggest the entire Polish delegation to the Wrocław conference, which would include King Casimir. The Piast kings, as shown in Chapter One, employed the public houses and it is not surprising that Casimir would use the services of the locales. If Casimir himself regarded inns as suitable accommodations for royalty, then he would not hesitate to lodge diplomats in public houses. The subsequent kings of the Jagiellonian Dynasty also continued to employ public houses in diplomacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

One of the most well-known and well-traveled diplomats of the sixteenth century, Ioannes Dantiscus (Jan Dantyszek) (1485-1548), provided first-hand accounts of his and his

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colleagues’ use of public houses throughout Europe, including in London, Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Augsburg, Cracow, and many other cities, during their diplomatic and clerical missions. Dantiscus was born in Gdansk, Poland (then part of Royal Prussia) to a father who was a brewer and a merchant on October 1, 1485.\textsuperscript{44} Around 1500, he began attending the university in Cracow, and by 1501, he entered the services of King Jan I Olbracht and after his death, King Aleksander I Jagiellon.\textsuperscript{45} Dantiscus continued in the royal service under the new king, Zygmunt I Stary, and by 1507, he began to carry out diplomatic missions to Prussia.\textsuperscript{46} In 1515, he began to complete assignments for Emperor Charles V, who, in 1516, ennobled Dantiscus for his services. Dantiscus continued to serve faithfully and successfully both the emperor and the Polish kings for the remainder of his life. By the time of his death, Dantiscus had served four Polish kings (Jan I Olbracht, Aleksander I Jagiellon, Zygmunt I the Old, and Zygmunt II August) and had attended the courts of Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, Charles I of Spain, Ferdinand Habsburg of Rome, Emperor Maximilian I, and various others.

Dantiscus praised and more often, lamented his stays in public houses in the extant copies of his 6,137 correspondences.\textsuperscript{47} Of those communications, public houses and publicans appear as subjects in 183 letters and poems. Throughout these correspondences, subjects range from financial obligations, comfort, diplomacy, tippling, and many others. The letters also provided recommendations among the correspondents about which establishments to frequent and which

\textsuperscript{45} Henry de Vocht, \textit{John Dantiscus and His Netherlandish Friends: As Revealed by Their Correspondence 1522-1546} (Louvain: W. Vandermeulen, 1961), 6.
\textsuperscript{46} de Vocht, \textit{John Dantiscus and His Netherlandish Friends}, 6.
to avoid. This helped the diplomats secure adequate accommodations and provisions in unfamiliar lands.

A common theme, before he became bishop of Warmia, was Dantiscus’s penchant to describe his financial troubles associated with life on missions and in public houses. On his return from attending a Sejm in Cracow, Dantiscus wrote multiple letters to his friends to recount the events of the diet. He also used the opportunity to complain about his expenses during the trip, which included his tenancy in a public house in the city for three months. In a letter to Jan Chojeński, Grand Chancellor and Bishop of Płock, from March 16, 1537, Dantiscus declared: “Having recently abandoned over a thousand Florins in Cracow, I am diminished to such an extent that hardly a hide remains with meat to be eaten.” He reaffirms his poverty as a result of the Sejm on November 24 in a letter to Tiedemann Giese, bishop-elect of Chełmno, in which he claimed to have spent 1,500 Marcs of his own money. The three-month long diet placed serious financial strains on Dantiscus and other diplomats. The emissaries hoped that they could afford the expenses of such gatherings, otherwise, they turned to patrons and friends in the hopes that they could help alleviate some of the burden.

Dantiscus’s extensive correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein (1486-1566), a diplomat in the Habsburgs’ service, often included information on public houses, tales of merrymaking, and pleas for financial support. Von Herberstein completed sixty-nine diplomatic missions between 1515 and 1553 for Maximilian I, Charles I, and Ferdinand I and because of his

49 “Si non fuisset profectio anni praeteriti ad comicia Regni Cracouiam, in quibus mille quingentas marcas de meis hic censibus ex pecuniis propriis absumpsi.” Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae, 357.
valued service, he received titles, land, and wealth.\textsuperscript{50} Von Herberstein probably met Dantiscus for the first time in 1515 at the First Congress of Vienna.\textsuperscript{51} Their friendship quickly blossomed and endured to the end of Dantiscus’ life. As noted previously, Dantiscus, despite his many distinctions, regularly faced financial problems during diplomatic missions and often beseeched von Herberstein for assistance. In a letter from October 29, 1515, Dantiscus wrote to von Herberstein to ask him to obtain money from the emperor because the innkeeper is demanding payment. According to Dantiscus,

\begin{quote}
At the conclusion of my letter, the innkeeper came to me with a certain vigor wishing to have the money, so now she is my enemy, therefore, she will not stay with me. I am pressed, pushed and squeezed from almost all directions by abuse, because I do not have blessings, as long as I will have had money. May you go on, as you begin to spend time with the emperor, so that I may have at least something, if not all things, by which I may be freed, so that the innkeeper remains silent for a short time. You understand, I imagine, how troublesome it is always to be pushed, beaten, strangled, etc. by creditors.\textsuperscript{52}
\end{quote}

In desperation, Dantiscus pawned his envoy’s chain and his rings and continued to beseech von Herberstein as a minister-member of the Imperial Financial Council to find relief for Dantiscus’ troublesome position.\textsuperscript{53}

Dantiscus’ letters also reveal that he was not the only Polish diplomat during the sixteenth century to employ public houses during his missions. For example, in a letter to von

\textsuperscript{50} Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, ed. Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, vol. 1, part 2 (Warsaw and Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008), 14.
\textsuperscript{51} Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, 14.
\textsuperscript{52} “In conclusione litterarum venit ad me hospes cum quadam vehementia volens habere pecuniam, quae nunc mihi hostis est, ideo mecum non habitat. Urgeor, impulsor et angor fere ab omni parte, propter maledictas, quia non habeo, benedictas, dum habuero, pecunias. Generositas Vestra pergat, ut incepit, agree cum caesarea maiestate, ut saltem aliquid habeam, si non omnia, quo sim solvendo, ut hospes paulisper conquiescat. Scit, ut opinor, Generositatem Vestram, quam molestum est a creditoribus semper urgeri, impulsari, angi etc.” Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, 73.
Herberstein from February 23, 1540, Dantiscus apologized to von Herberstein for not responding to a message because their mutual friend, Mikołaj Nipszyc, who was supposed to deliver the correspondence, needed to leave his inn suddenly.  

Nipszyc served King Zygmunt I at the court in Cracow from 1506 until his death in 1541, during which time he carried out missions from the Polish king to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Albrecht von Hohenzollern, to Ferdinand I, to the Assemblies of Royal Prussia, and to various others. Despite Nipszyc’s prominent position at the Polish court, he still needed to secure his own accommodations while on diplomatic missions.

The use of public houses by diplomats was not exclusive to the Polish court. Dantiscus’ extensive correspondence with emissaries in the service of other polities shows that this was common practice throughout Europe during the Jagiellonian period. For example, three of Dantiscus’ most frequent correspondents, Cornelius de Schepper, secretary and councilor to Emperor Charles V, Alfonso de Valdés, secretary of Emperor Charles V, and the aforementioned Sigmund von Herberstein discuss their experiences in public houses. In his correspondence to Dantiscus from Maastricht on January 1, 1531, de Schepper recommends a public house for Dantiscus: “The innkeeper of the house is a good man and assuming from the drinking, the hostess is not boorish. I believe it will not be a bad inn for you.” While in a letter dated September 12, 1527 from Palencia, de Valdés informs Dantiscus: “I have found a sufficiently comfortable inn, which you, if it happens that you are to come here, can use.”

54 “Quod cum communi amico domino Nibsicz non rescripserim, illius culpa accidit, qui a me insalutato hospite abit.” Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, 153.
55 Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein, 84n1.
wanted to provide recommendations for their fellow emissaries to ensure that they could find adequate accommodations. Not only was comfort an important factor in determining a public house, but so was the quality of the publican and the drinking.

Dantiscus also sought to ensure that other Polish envoys received proper accommodations, including occupancy in public houses. For instance, in a letter from March 19, 1543, Stanisław Hozjusz described leaving an inn, which Dantiscus had arranged for him in Cracow.\(^5^8\) In a letter from 1537 to his friend Tiedemann Giese, Dantiscus informed Giese that Mikołaj Nipszyc and royal chamberlain Marcin Wolski would be traveling to Frombork in order to attend the election of the bishop of Warmia.\(^5^9\) Dantiscus was particularly interested in the election because he wished to secure the bishopric for himself and therefore, it was in his best interest to ensure the proper treatment of its participants. Dantiscus asked Giese “to receive the eight-horse retinue at his house.”\(^6^0\) If he is unable, Dantiscus asked him, “However, may you meet with the venerable chapter to make it possible for the royal orator, who was next sent to our monastery, to have a comfortable inn.”\(^6^1\) Dantiscus wanted to ensure that Giese provided proper and comfortable accommodations for a man of Nipszyc’s position. Dantiscus added in the postscript: “My messenger will inform you on the customs of lord Nipszyc, which, to the extent that they please me, I hope, they will please you.”\(^6^2\)


\(^5^9\) Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae, vol. 1, part 1, 224-225.

\(^6^0\) Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae, vol. 1, part 1, 224-225.

\(^6^1\) “In praesens non attingo aliud, quam, quod, si Dominacio Vestra illum commode cum equis octo in domum suam accipere potest, ob eas causas, quas descripsi in nouissimis, rem mihi gratam nobisque non invitlem vtrisque faciet; sin vero, Dominacio Vestra cum venerabili agat capitulo, vt orator regius, qui etiam ad conuentum nostrum proximum est missus, commodum hospicium habere possit, de quo per istum meum nuncium cercior inter eundem fieri possit.” Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae, vol. 1, part 1, 225.

referring was Nipszyc’s love of drink, cards, and dice and it is likely that Giese spent the night drinking and playing games with Nipszyc.\textsuperscript{63}

Public houses were not simply places for diplomats to reside in, but they were also locations where important negotiations took place. This is evident from a letter dated January 22, 1537 in Cracow from Dantiscus to the bishop of Warmia, Mauryć Ferber. The correspondence reveals information on Dantiscus’ residency at a public house while attending the \textit{Sejm} in Cracow. After attending a meeting of the Royal Council, in which King Zygmunt received the demands of the Prussian representatives—“The Prussian gentry’s envoys demanded from the king that he consult them when appointing lay and church officials in Prussia”—the king gave Dantiscus the authority to negotiate with the emissaries at his inn on the next day.\textsuperscript{64} According to Dantiscus, “After the reading of the demands, the king ordered that the messengers meet with me on the next day in my inn, if by chance, we reach an agreement on the matter.”\textsuperscript{65} The king, rather than providing accommodations for his lead negotiator on issues regarding Polish policies in Prussia, regarded the public house as a place adequate for lodging and as a place sufficient for vital negotiations. The king believed that the public house in which Dantiscus was residing was a sufficient location for political negotiations with the Prussian envoys, despite the possibility of other clients, the publican, or even spies hearing such sensitive information.

The public houses in Cracow and throughout Europe were essential to the functions of diplomats and the inner workings of diplomacy. The establishments gave the itinerant envoys a semi-permanent location from which they could carry out their missions. This even included

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein}, vol. 1, part 2, 84n1; \textit{Teresa Borawska, Życie Umysłowe na Warmii w Czasach Mikołaja Kopernika [Intellectual Life in Warmia during the Times of Nicolaus Copernicus]} (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996), 111-112.
\item \textit{Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae}, vol. 1, part 1, 133.
\item “Post lectionem libelli inuinxit serenissima maiestas regia ipsis nunciis, ut nobiscum postero die in meo hospicio convenirent, si forte ad aliquam inter nos composicionem res duci posset.” \textit{Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae}, vol. 1, part 1, 135.
\end{enumerate}
negotiating important terms with other representatives at the locales. Employing the public houses for these diplomatic missions, however, was costly and the diplomats often struggled to pay for the expenses upfront. The Polish kings used public houses themselves and expected the envoys to employ the public houses wherever they traveled and would reimburse them upon their return. The kings occasionally displayed their hospitality by paying for the costs of lodging, food, drink, and even by bestowing gifts on the representatives.

The Students and Faculty

On May 12, 1364, Casimir III the Great established the Studium Generale in the city of Cracow. This was also the beginning of a complex relationship between the students and faculty of the university and the public houses of the city. In the year prior, Casimir had sent delegates to the papacy in Avignon to lodge a royal supplication for the establishment of a university in the city because many of the kingdom’s “noble clerks had been captured when making their way to study at other universities, and some had even been reported to have died while held in captivity.” The growth of the Polish Church and the economy under Casimir’s stable leadership, as shown in Chapter One, increased the demand for literate and trained individuals in the kingdom. The establishment of the university also enhanced Casimir’s reputation among the other rulers of Europe, as Jan Długosz pointed out: “King Casimir is eager to add to his country’s glory by giving it a university such as other kingdoms have.”

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68 Długosz, The Annals of Jan Długosz, 310; Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, The History of the Jagiellonian University, 13.
The foundation charter protected the interests of students by exempting them from taxes and customs charges, establishing lodgings, ensuring reasonably priced services, and various others.\textsuperscript{69} This helped attract students from within the kingdom and beyond, including pupils from Lucca in Italy, Osterhusen in Germany, Elbing in the Teutonic lands, and Gliwice in the Kingdom of Bohemia.\textsuperscript{70} The founding document also created a separate jurisdiction for the university in civil and lesser criminal offenses and the right to issue its own statutes. The compilation of the court records formed the \textit{Acta Rectoralia AlmAe Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis}. The university consisted of three faculties—Liberal Arts, Medicine, and Law—populated by three professors of Canon Law, five of Roman Law, two of Medicine, and one of the Liberal Arts. The models for the institution were the universities in Bologna, Padua, and Naples.\textsuperscript{71} In its earliest days, there were no formal buildings for the university and lectures and classes occurred in parish schools, private homes, churches, the cathedral school, on Wawel Hill, and in academic taverns.\textsuperscript{72} After Casimir’s death in 1370, however, the academy entered a period of decline. Louis I of Hungary was far more concerned with matters in Hungary and did not invest in the future of the University of Cracow. As a result, the edifices of the university never reached completion and its students moved to Prague.\textsuperscript{73}

The union of Poland and Lithuania in 1386 brought renewed interest in the university. Lithuania, although approximately four times larger than Poland, had a much smaller population


\textsuperscript{70} Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, \textit{The History of the Jagiellonian University}, 14.

\textsuperscript{71} Mieczysław Markowski, \textit{Dzieje Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w Latach 1397-1525 [The History of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Cracow in 1397-1525]} (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie, 1996), 42.

\textsuperscript{72} Knoll, “\textit{A Pearl of Powerful Learning},” 20.

\textsuperscript{73} Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, \textit{The History of the Jagiellonian University}, 15.
and no school system. Rectifying the situation would be a significant undertaking and required well-trained individuals to ease the process. Władysław Jagiełło and Jadwiga of Anjou recognized the importance of a university to its people and worked for over ten years to reestablish the institution. Their efforts gradually began to pay off and in 1397, Pope Boniface IX granted permission to the king and queen to add a faculty of theology to faculties of Liberal Arts, Medicine, and Law. The couple—Jadwiga died prior to the formal reopening—officially reestablished, reformed, and expanded the Studium Generale in 1400:

On the Feast of St. James the Apostle, in the royal city of Cracow, King Władysław founds the university for which Queen Jadwiga has so earnestly striven. Doctors and Masters in every faculty are brought from Prague and the new university provided with an income from salt dues and other royal revenues. A College of the Arts and Theology is established in St. Anne’s Street and a College of Law and Medicine in Grodzka Street, both built by Queen Jadwiga’s executors with money left by her for the purpose.

In her will, Jadwiga provided the university with her money, garments, and jewels to ensure its survival. The renewed university was to help achieve three goals: “Christianizing Lithuania, preparing officials to serve the Polish-Lithuanian state, and raising the intellectual level of the populace.” The new founding charter borrowed from Kazimierz’s deed and included provisions to ensure legal jurisdiction, the right of sanctuary, and one hundred Polish Marcs annually for its fellows.

As the population of the university grew, so did the demand for accommodations, services, sustenance, and entertainment. The public houses of Cracow, especially those located in

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74 Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, The History of the Jagiellonian University, 15-16.
75 Markowski, Dzieje Wydziału Teologii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego, 8.
77 Knoll, “A Pearl of Powerful Learning, 31.
78 Stone, The Polish-Lithuanian State, 94.
79 Wyrozumska, Najstarsze Przywileje Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego, 43-58.
the university’s vicinity, were happy to provide for the populace. The university’s student and faculty housing predominantly surrounded the didactic buildings near Gołębia, Bracka, Wiślna, and occasionally, Grodzka Streets.80 As was clear from Chapter Two, these streets were also locations of various public houses as publicans wanted to take advantage of the clientele base. Students usually lived in burses or dormitories, such as the Contubernium Pauperum, Contubernium Hierusalem, or the Bursa Pisarum, which often contained “residential quarters, a kitchen and mensa (refectory), a library, and sometimes lecture rooms as well.”81 Students usually did not live beyond these edifices because it required special permission from the rector to do so. On a few occasions, however, students secretly lived in the public houses of the city to avoid residing in the dormitories.82 The university also often provided rooms for the professors in the colleges. All professors could enter the priesthood, but certainly not all did.83 The university expected its members to dedicate themselves fully to education and to shun distractions, such as public houses, prostitutes, and alcohol, especially, while living in university housing.

Students and faculty, although expected to lead a life akin to the monastics, as they have done before and ever since, turned to public houses where they could vent frustrations, debate academic material, indulge in the local provisions, and do much more. Many students—between

81 Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, The History of the Jagiellonian University, 33-35.
82 “Anno, quo supra, et die, qua immediate supra. Paulus, sapiencia, retulit, se citasse Honorabilem dnum Nicolaum Swatek, nacione de Mazovia, arcium autem baccalarium, ex officio dni rectoris, qui dnius rector mandavit, ne ulterior querela contra eundem veniat, prout frequencior veniebat, quod idem quasdam insolencias de nocte solet facere, tabemas visitando, ludos faciendo, violencias hominibus inferendo et alia, quod statum suum non concernunt, faciendo, quod ab huiusmodi desistat. Insuper et mandavit, ut in hospicio peramplius non moretur, sed aut ad bursam aut ad scolam moraturus se conferat. Et nichilominus dnius rector propter pestem hinc ad Carnisprivium sibi hospicium inhabitandi honestum indulsit.” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia aliae Universitatis, 417.
83 Stopka, Banach, and Dybiec, The History of the Jagiellonian University, 65.
1433 and 1510, as many as forty-four percent—were also traveling from outside of the Polish lands and sought additional accommodations. The population of domestic and foreign students and faculty created an environment where cultures, customs, and languages mixed freely in Cracow. This, however, also could create tensions, which would flare up throughout the city, on occasion, in public houses. The university officials attempted to discourage and prevent the students and faculty from frequenting the public houses, but this proved to be futile.

Stanisław of Skarbimierz (*Stanislaus de Scarbimiria*) (1360–1431), a doctor of canon law and strong opponent of public houses, became the first rector of the reestablished university in 1400. Stanisław was born around 1365 in the Lesser Poland town of Skarbimierz—about twelve miles north of Cracow. From 1380 to 1396, he studied law and *artium* at the University of Prague where he obtained the title *iuris doctor*. He next returned to Cracow during which time he received the canonries of Przemysl and Skarbimierz as well as the rectory of the Church of St. Peter in Skarbimierz. During this time he also functioned as royal confessor, preacher at the cathedral, and vicar general of the bishop of Cracow. In 1400, Władysław Jagiełło named Stanislaus the rector of the University of Cracow. The rector of the university served various functions: “It was his duty to defend the University’s rights and privileges, and he publicly announced and explained its statutes. He supervised the conducting of classes and could stop the pay of tutors who were negligent in carrying out their duties.” He proved effective in this

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position and his involvement in the organizational activities and the creation of statutes for the university helped reestablish the institution. Stanisław died in Cracow on January 9, 1431.

Stanisław used his position as rector and his writings to try to prevent the students and faculty of the university from frequenting the public houses of Cracow and from endangering their souls. He wrote more than 500 sermons over the course of his life, including the *Recommendation for Reestablishing the University (Recommendatio Universitatis de novo fundatae)*. Stanisław intended the sermons as a guide to a better and holier life for the students and the faculty and a greater audience. In the sermons, he expounded on topics, such as avoiding public houses, proper behavior, appropriate activities, productivity, just war (*De bellis justis*), religion, heresy, superstition (*superstitio*), and many others. His texts reveal information about the customs, concerns, and everyday life of Cracowian and Polish society in the Middle Ages.

Stanisław of Skarbimierz was one of the most vocal university authorities and wrote sermons to help his students in a world which he considered to be full of temptations. In his capacity as rector, he often dealt with issues of academic morality and discipline. Students were forbidden from visiting public houses and Stanisław addressed the issue on multiple occasions. For example, in his *Cor Sapiencium ubi Tristicia*, he lamented the fact that students were spending more time in public houses than at their studies. He wrote, “Few or almost none live with doctors or masters, but commonly in inns, where they brawl with women, publicans or their guests, with which the rector and the masters are troubled.” Stanisław was not only concerned

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88 Olszewski, Świat Zabobonów w Średniowieczu, 98.
with the students’ mental and spiritual well-being because they were not spending sufficient time with their superiors, but also their physical health because they were fraternizing and brawling with characters, in Stanisław’s mind, of ill-repute. On various occasions in the speech, he criticized these characters, especially women, for their reprehensible behavior.

For Stanisław, avoiding the temptations of academic life and the public house required vigilance throughout the entire day. Although he does not always specifically address public houses, he clearly intends his listeners to avoid such places. For example, when discussing what to do during the day and during the night in his *A Sermon about the Form of Human Life and How It Ought to Be Kept during the Day and Night (Sermo de Forma Vitae Humanae et Qualiter Quisque Debet Se Habere de Die et Nocte)*, Stanisław cautioned,

Likewise, have discretion of the time. For everyone should pass time in one way by day, in another way by night; for the night is a time of silence and rest, the day of labor, movement, and work. Whence at night, men ought to restore tired bodies with sleep or to exercise the mind with prayers or holy meditations. However, during the day, let them meet to reveal examples of good and in turn, unite with holy words. 91

Stanisław instructed the reader to avoid activities at night which do not help to restore the body or contemplate religion. Spending nights in noisy public houses and engaging in various non-religious activities would not help the body rest. He continues:

Also, let him discern between festive and ferial days; for on feast days and especially on the greatest, it is necessary for Christians to come to church more zealously and to be present with the divine mysteries more devoutly and to continue in prayer all day, to show greater devotion towards the divine cult with advancement and habit, to urge no disorder, to restrain the tongue from idle talk, to limit the feet from walking, to control the eyes, to lower the face, to rouse the mind and all movement of the body, and equally

of the heart, to surrender to the divine ministry. Oh, how few they are, who keep the festivities; rather, having taken up certain activities from the freedom of festivities, they do not fear to begin many very wicked things, and from these, which was foreseen in the remedy, it inclines at night. However, on ferial days, in which it is permitted to work, let him never appear idle, but each one in it, which he will have enjoined to himself or whose duty it is, let him exercise the work. For just as on festive days rest ought to be full of wisdom, thus on those days, let the hand always be laborious. 92

When instructing on activities during the day, Stanislaw distinguished between weekdays and holy days. People should spend holy days worshipping in church and praying; and they should spend ferial days working and keeping their hands always occupied. Again, this does not suggest that they should be spending their time carousing in public houses, but rather faithfully worshipping in church.

In addition to his instructions to keep busy with holy activities during the day and the night, Stanislaw cautioned his readers on the perils of certain locations, like the public houses.

When choosing locations in general, Stanislaw believed,

Discretion of the act having been made, let him discern from the location; for it is not only what he did, but in which place or what he ought to do, for it is necessary to ponder. Indeed some rule ought to be had on the location, where God is worshipped, some in the place where the body is restored, some within, some outside, some in secret, some in public; and although he ought to desert instruction in no place, even if he possesses wisdom, nevertheless, it ought to be protected carefully and more anxiously there, where either having been neglected by many, it begets temptation, or having been preserved, it begets the example of a good imitation. 93

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92 “Discernat etiam inter dies festos et ferialis; in festis enim et praecipue summis oportet christianos ad ecclesiam studiosius et alacri venire et divinis mysteriis devotius interesse ac in oration diutius perseverare, incessu et habitu maiorem devotionem erga divinum cultum demonstrare, nihil inordinatum agree, linguam a vanilioquo cohibere, pedes ab incessu stringere, oculos comprimere, vultum inclinare, menter erigere et omnem motum corporis, partier et cordis, divino ministerio mancipare. O quam pauci sunt, qui festivitates sic servant; immo sumptis ex vacatione festivitatis quibusdam occasionibus multa nefandissima committere non metuunt, et his, quod provisum est in remedium, vergit in noxam. In diebus vero ferialibus, in quibus licet operari, numquam otiosus appareat, sed unusquisque in eo, quod sibi fuerit inunctum vel cuius est offici, opus exercet. Sicut enim in diebus festis debet esse requies plena sapientia, ita in diebus istorius manus sit semper operosa.” Stanislaw ze Skalbmierza, Sermones Sapientiales, vol. 2, 143-144.

93 “Discretione facta de actu discernat de loco; non solum enim quid agit, sed in quo loco vel quid agree debeat, necesse est ut penset. Alius quippe modus habendus est in loco, ubi Deus adoratur, alius in eo, ubi corpus reficitur, alius intus, alius foris, alius in secreto, alius in publico; et quamvis in nullo loco disciplinam suam, ut possideat sapientiam, debet deserere, diligentius tamen et magis sollicite ibi est servanda, ubi vel neglecta pluribus generat
For Stanisław, locations where there is temptation were places that did not lead the reader to a life closer to God. Instead, these locations led the reader to engage in activities that did not help the body rest and contemplate religion. Although he did not explicitly mention the public houses, the descriptions of the locations, the actions at the sites, and the temptations therein can easily apply to inns, taverns, and alehouses.

He also targeted specific locations that again, although he does not always specify are public houses, he seems to describe places where public house activities took place. In his *Sermo de Stoliditate pro Terrenis Insudentium et de Lenociniis Melodiae*, Stanisław warned his readers to avoid places and activities where the devil can find “anything of leisure” (*aliquem invenit otiosum*) because “at once, he [the devil] casts him into his own activity and procures in him perverse thinking or delight.”94 Once the devil is present, “virgins or women are seduced easily and ruin youths without difficulty for him [the devil], because they are not occupied with honest arts or labors, but with love and games, and such blame the devil, when they should blame themselves more than unfruitful and useless trees.”95 He then lists the activities and places to avoid: leisure, sloth, and prolonged sleep.96 He next criticizes activities that are occurring in public houses: “Shun games and jokes, for all jest is the kindling of desire” because “from games and jokes arise withdrawal, blame, fornication, quarrels, hostility, brawls, discord, adultery, scandalum vel custodita bonae imitationis exemplum.” Stanisław ze Skalbmierza, *Sermones Sapientiales*, vol. 2, 143.


95 “Et hinc est, quod facile virgines vel mulieres seducuntur et adolescentes runt de facili pro eo, quod nullis honestis artibus vel laboribus, sed amatoris et iudicris occupantus, et tales diabolum inculpan, cum tamen se magis tamquam arbores infructuosas et inutiles cuplare debetn.” Stanisław ze Skalbmierza, *Sermones Sapientiales*, vol. 3, 158-159.

96 Stanisław ze Skalbmierza, *Sermones Sapientiales*, vol. 3, 159.
murder, and sometimes, incest and dishonor.”\(^{97}\) These are all activities that are associated with public houses and at times, occurred within their confines. Stanislaw continues: “Moreover, shun sweet songs, musical melodies, and especially, a sweet, human voice. For the philosophers say according to Ovid, that nothing is more powerful at weakening the soul, than enticing melodies.”\(^{98}\) Again, Stanislaw is potentially alluding to public houses because there is evidence, including from court records, which reaffirms the presence of musicians in the establishments. He concluded his diatribe by warning against the opposite sex, wine and cider, and drunkenness in quick succession:

Let women shun the beauty of men and men the beauty of women, for it is written: “Many died because of the beauty of a woman.” Moreover, commonly, where there is beauty, there is pride or luxury. Ovid says about pride: There is arrogance in beauty, pride follows beauty. Thus, for luxury it is known: another joke, another trick, another desire, another power or tyranny, another deceitful promise or fake friendship strains to pollute beauty, and therefore, it is difficult for noble men to be undefiled on account of the daily battle. Beware of the conduct of boys or youths, if you wish to be chaste, for the age of boys is dangerous and society is more dangerous. Let men and especially women wishing to conserve their chastity shun wine or cider, because it is no secret that where drunkenness reigns, because drunkenness begets the pride of good men, it induces the exile of the mind and begets the threat of lust, because where there is drunkenness, there is confusion, there is the binding of the senses, indeed where the binding of the senses is strong, the flower of chastity is easily lost.\(^{99}\)

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Stanisław warned his students and readers to avoid activities, which were common in public houses. Instead of engaging in such activities, Stanislaw urged his students, faculty, and readers to look to corporeal labor: “Corporeal labor is useful for the reward of eternal life.”

On other occasions, Stanislaw also cautioned his readers to avoid the gluttony of food and drink and to shun inebriation and harmful activities from excessive alcohol. Similar to the early modern German city of Augsburg, as B. Ann Tlusty has shown, where various preachers did not attack drunkenness itself, but the sin of gluttony, Stanislaw attacked the sin of gluttony and the sins associated with drunkenness.

As if most might believe, they might better protect and save the feast days of Christ and the saints. Some, on the Lord’s days or other feasts, consider the trees, others the water, not without the scandal of others on animals and chariots or carriages, others gather early for devouring and drinking, others fell trees for churches, others, throughout the whole day, hasten for love, some of the Catholics or true Christians secretly steal things or goods, others in turn, brawl, others strike down the position of everyone, others before drunkenness, whether man or beast, do not learn, some seek to trip up, kill, or hurt others, and these all believe that they are celebrating God, but it is not so, for when they are enemies of the cross of Christ, ‘their god is the stomach and the glory in their confusion.’

He added in the *Sermo Contra Leves, Risu et Mundi Laetitia Distractos,*

May you all feast and be drunk, as the number of frogs and snakes increases. For you will not be able to devour, to drink and to get drunk after death, but with wealth, he who feasts splendidly daily, will wish for the smallest drop in hellish torment, and will not be able to have any. Sow in corruption so that from that corruption you obtain the harsh

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100 “Est utilis labor corporeus ad vitae aeternae remunerationem.” Stanisław ze Skalbmierza, *Sermones Sapientiales,* vol. 3, 162.
102 “Quod si plurimi pensarent, melius festivos dies Christi et sanctorum custodirent et servarent. Quorum alii diebus dominicis et alii festis ligna, alii aquam, non sine scandallo aliorum in animalibus et quadrigis vel carucis ducent, alii mane ad vorandum et potandum convenient, alii pro ecclesias silvas accadunt, alii tota die per amatoria currunt, alii catholicorum et verorum christianorum furtive res aut bona surripiunt, alii ad invicem rixantur, alii singulorum statum discutiunt, alii prae ebrietatem, an sint homines vel bestiae, non norunt, alii supplantare alios, occidere vel laedere quarerunt; et hi omnes festivare se Deo credunt, sed non est ita, nam cum sint inimici crucia Christi, ‘deus ipsorum venter est et Gloria in confusion ipsorum.’” Stanisław ze Skalbmierza, *Sermones Sapientiales,* vol. 3, 157.
sentence of the most just judge, because on the universal and great day of judgement it will be said to the reprobate: ‘Go, slanderers, to the eternal fire, he who was prepared by the devil and his messengers.’

Stanislaw reasoned that excessive drinking and eating are sins and they will lead the culprit to eternal damnation.

Stanislaw of Skarbimierz was not alone in his admonishments of public houses and various other university officials followed in his footsteps. Rector Maciej of Łabiszyna in his Rectorem Te Posuerunt, Nolli Extolli from 1449, warned students against “fallen women,” visiting taverns, agitation of Jews, playing bones, etc. Rector Mikołaj Tempelfeld of Brzeg stated, “Moreover, there are those who at night run through the neighborhoods and streets and taverns, the dwellings of prostitutes, for public spectacle, for pomp and guilt.” In the Diligite Sapienciam by an unknown rector, the author warned, “Therefore, be vigilant dear students not in taverns and in alehouses, but be vigilant in scripture and in the sexterns.” Francis of Brzeg’s Sermo de Dilectione Fratrum explicitly instructed that “no one should visit the tavern.”

There was a clear preoccupation among the university officials with students and faculty frequenting public houses, engaging in nefarious activities, and neglecting their studies.

Despite the best efforts of Stanislaw of Skarbimierz and many other university officials to keep the students and faculty of the University of Cracow away from the temptations of public

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104 Kowalczyk, Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie, 47.

105 “Sunt autem tales, qui de nocte discurrunt per vicos et plateas et tabernas, per meretricum cellulas, per publica spectacula, per pompas et coreas.” Kowalczyk, Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie, 87nnr52.

106 “Vigilate igitur studentes karissimi non in tabernis et bibernis, sed vigilate in scripturis et sexternis.” Kowalczyk, Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie, 60nnr42.

houses and the problems associated with them, they frequented locales throughout Cracow. Numerous court cases refer to the frequency in which these individuals visited the establishments. Mathew of Piotrków was “visiting taverns in excess,” while in 1537, “the venerable Master Paul Raczyasz was cited because he frequently entered taverns, which he confessed to” and Master Nicolaus Herbesth “needed to cease entering taverns, which he previously was frequently visiting, especially that of Lady Vesicova on Saint Stephan’s Street.”

The rector imposed a fine of ten Florins on Mathew, two Grosze on Paul, and three Marcs on Nicolaus. The rector later penalized Paul two Grosze for “the negligence of two lectures.” The rector had also punished Nicolaus for neglecting his teaching obligations on four occasions, both prior to and after the aforementioned court case. On Wednesday, November 15, 1537, the rector likewise charged Master Simon of Cracow four Grosze for neglecting two lectures because he was specifically visiting the tavern. It certainly did not help that publicans maintained public houses next to university buildings. For example, in an

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110 *Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis*, 10, 23, and 51.

engineering account from August 29, 1569, a Stanislaw Goly (Stanislaus Golus) operated his public house three buildings down from the Collegium Magnum on St. Anne’s Street.112

The faculty created various problems for the publicans of the city. The most common disputes between faculty and publicans involved debts. This included arrears for beer, wine, bread, other foods, lodging, among many other things. For example, in 1522, the honorable lady and publican Anna Doctorowa of Cracow accused Master Jacob of Sierpc for his unpaid debt of sixteen Grosze for wine, a claim which Jacob denied.113 Jacob had previously accrued other debts throughout the city, including two Marcis and half a Grosz to Master Thomas of Poznan.114

Master Martin of Olkusz, the rector of the university in 1522-1523, determined that Jacob would pay the sixteen Grosze to Anna.115 Anna, subsequently in 1531, brought litigation against Master Martin of Cracow for his debt of one Florin.116 Martin acknowledged the debt and agreed to pay it off within two weeks. Martin was no stranger to public houses and had intervened with his sword or knife in an altercation in a tavern the previous year.117

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112 “Ad instantiam providi Ioannis Trzecieski quartalienses iurati ex officio nostro missi sunt ad conspicienda necessaria aedificia duarum domorum, vulgo Cziolkowskie nuncupatarum, inter domum Stanislai Goli tabernatoris ex una et Collegium Magnum ex altera partibus in platea S. Annae consistuentium.” Jelonek-Litewka, Litewka, and Walczy, Quaeraltiensium Recognitiones et Divisiones 1568-1577, 88.

113 “Honesta dna Doctorowa proposicione facta contra Venerabilem mgrum Iacobum de Seprcz, collegiatum minoris Collegii, pro debito sedecem grossorum, sibi pro vino relicto, ubi ex adverso prefatus dnus mgr. animo et intencione legittime litem contestandi narrate negavit. Fassus quidem est hoc, vinum bibisse, non tamen sub condicione solvendi sed loco recompense, quia Paulo ante rogatus fuit per dictam dnam ad emendum sibi vinum, promittens sibi id vinum recompensare, que prefata domina negavit, aliquid tale ab ipso mgro pecysse. Dominus tamen auditis altercationibus parcium, continavit et prefixit terminum dicto mgro ad prestandum iuramentum hinc ad feriam quintam proximam.” Wisłocki, Acta Rectoralia Almæ Universitatis, 611.


117 “Die Saturni undecima Marcii. Discreti Stanislai de schola s. Spiritus ad proposicionem occasione gladii, eidem per ipsum in taberna recepti hora inconsueta post secundum pulsum in pretorio, petentis, ad restitutionem eiusdem
Students frequently fell into debt for their consumption in the public houses of the city as well. They often obtained drink, victuals, lodgings, etc. on credit and did not satisfy these debts. For instance, in 1480:

On Tuesday, May 16, John Morsky, student, was summoned at the request of a certain layman, John, a taverner on Vistula Street in the city of Cracow. He recognized that he accepted bread and beer from John for half a Marc and two Grosze. The lord rector [John Beber of Auschwitz] decreed that he, John Morsky, would be hard pressed for the payment to the layman to resolve effectively the aforementioned sum, henceforth until the next Feast of Saint Vitus, at which time, he ought to replace the half Marc with two Grosze in the presence of the lord rector, to that man from whom he stole, under penalty of excommunication.\textsuperscript{118}

John Morsky was unable to satisfy the obligation at the designated time, but was fortunate enough to receive a delay of payment from the rector with the publican’s consent. Wealthier students could easily resolve such disputes while those less fortunate often struggled to repay the amounts. The rector, with the agreement of the publican, tried to alleviate the burden of the debt by arranging the repayment in several instalments. Failure to repay the delinquency often led to a protracted series of litigation and potentially, the confiscation of property.

The debt of a student or faculty member could also escalate into greater problems in court. The unpaid amount caused hardship for the publicans and this could cause infamy. For

\textsuperscript{118} “Martis xvj Maij. Iohannes Morsky, studens, citatus ad instanciam ciusdam laici Iohannis, tabernary, in platea Vysle civitatis Cracoviensis, cognovit, quod apud eundem accepit panes et cervisiam successio pro media marca et duobus grossis. Et dntus rector decrevit, quod ipse Iohannes Morsky satageret pro solucione illi laico fienda et effectualiter solveret eidem summam predictam abhinc ad festum s. Viti proxime futurum, quo die reponere debeat medium marcum cum 2 grossis coram dno rectore, per illum hominem tollendam, sub pena excommunicacionis.” Wislocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis}, 177.
example, in 1486, rector John Baruchowski determined that student John of Lavben’s debt of one Ferton owed to Stanislaus Brudnius, publican of beer on Potter’s Street (*platea Figulorum*), and his wife for beer had caused them infamy and therefore, John owed six Marcs in addition to the Ferton.\(^{119}\) An unpaid debt could easily lead to the infamy of the publicans and the clients. The publicans used the court systems to avoid altercations and to publicly transfer their infamy onto the debtor. Chapter Five provides a more comprehensive analysis of defamation and infamy in the public houses of Cracow.

The debts of the students and faculty speak to the large amounts of alcohol occasionally consumed by these clients. The ability for clients to drink on credit made the risk of drinking beyond one’s means a real threat. Students and faculty who came from wealthier families could easily satisfy the accruing arrears of overconsumption, while the less fortunate struggled to meet the demands. The amount of alcohol consumed by the clients could also have health concerns. One student “utilizing beer in such abundance that like an astronomer he often perceived halos in his eyes.”\(^{120}\) As is clear from modern medicine, excessive drinking can cause serious health problems, including blurred vision, liver disease, pancreatitis, cancer, ulcers, osteoporosis, and heart disease.

Students and faculty also played various games and gambled in the public houses of Cracow. These activities, as was clear from Chapter Three, drew the attention of the authorities


\(^{120}\) “Licet enim natura sua aquam coluisset, quia non in vinum, sed in cervisiam, qua uten in habundancia tanquam astronomus sepe circa lumina oculorum percipiebat halones.” Kowalczyk, *Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie*, 90nr75.
and moralizing authors. Numerous legal proceedings showed members of the university frequenting public houses, drinking excessively, playing games, and gambling. One unknown student spent a significant amount of time in public houses and cheated at bones in order to make a profit to spend on alcohol.\textsuperscript{121} The aforementioned venerable Master Mathew of Przedbórz spent nearly each day drunk in taverns playing games.\textsuperscript{122} Many of the students attending the university, whether local, from the Polish lands, or from other polities, and the faculty enjoyed playing games and gambling at the public houses of the city of Cracow to the dismay of the authorities.

Despite the best efforts of the rectors and the university law codes, the students and faculty frequented the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Age. The students and faculty maintained a complicated relationship with the locales, which occasionally could turn problematic. This created situations of debt, infamy, violence, and gambling. These occurrences, however, were rare and the students and faculty normally employed the establishments for their intended purposes, even though they were supposed to avoid the enterprises.

Conclusions

The accounts of various socioeconomic groups give life to the situations occurring throughout the public houses of Cracow. Their stories offer nuance to the quantitative data and help to reaffirm what activities and problems were widespread in the locales. Their descriptions provide the perspective of differing socioeconomic ranks in Cracowian society and reveal that

\textsuperscript{121} “Vana societas licet ipsum ad tabernas quandoque traxerat, tamen ipse velociter vix in pedibus ambulando volubiliter evasit. Item ipse sapiencia vicit fortunam, nam in alleis cum sociis sui ludendo pro lucris instabat et sua Fallaci astucia, dico industria, fallaciter lapides componendo vel disgregando sicud ingeniari potuit per phas et nephas ludum aquisivit et sic vicit fallacia ymo virtute fortunam. Et ne mirum, quia simplicitate apparencie ocultavit dolum astucie. Et ne mirum, quia affabilitate nimia claret ex complexionis decora amenitate. Ecce quomodo parcitatem suam scivit relevare, ut cum aliis gratus potaret, per ludi fortunam vincere studuit.” Kowalczyk, \textit{Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie}, 91nr76.
\textsuperscript{122} Wisłocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis}, 702-703.
these groups interacted within the establishments. They also help to further illustrate the complex relationship between the public houses of the city and the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social developments occurring there. From this, it is possible to see that these groups employed the public houses for their normal services and also as investments for wealthier residents, semi-permanent destinations for itinerant persons, settings for important political negotiations, sites for merrymaking, and locations for many other functions. Their accounts also confirm what problems plagued the publicans and clients, including debt, gambling, cleanliness, crime, overconsumption, and various others. Lastly, the client stories show that although the public houses could be tense environments because of the various problems affecting the locations, there does not seem to be an excessive occurrence of physical and verbal violence therein. Chapter Five scrutinizes the types of violence and its extent in the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty.
Chapter Five: Violence and the Public House

The previous chapters have helped to reconstruct different facets of the public houses in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty. One important aspect and something of extensive scholarly debate, however, which has been mostly absent from the accounts of the history, the public houses, the publicans, and the patrons, is the extent and types of violence in the inns, taverns, and alehouses of the city. Violence, in a multitude of forms, was a common feature of medieval and early modern society and occurred in public houses. According to Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk, “For medieval people violence was, in other words, normative social practice, a form of social discourse utilized not just by kings, knights, inquisitors, and mobs to oppress and abuse others, but by artisans and peasants, men and women of whatever religion, to lay claim to honour and integrity, and to establish and defend a place for themselves and their families in local society.”1 Authorities often struggled to enforce coercive laws, including decrees aimed at curbing violence in their realms. The Polish monarchy and the officials of Cracow continuously issued legislation intended to limit physically and verbally violent conflicts in the city. Julius Ruggieri, a papal legate to Poland, writing in his final report (relazione finale) in 1568, described the Polish lands as although they are “finally civil and governed by laws,” “some laws are worthy of condemnation, especially concerning homicide,” which he later adds, may be partly “due to their propensity to eat and drink overwhelmingly.”2

2 “Ma in processo di tempo domesticati et dalla religione christianà maggiormente disciplinati, sono finalmente divenuti uomini civili et regolati, sotto conveniente forma di governo, benché ritengano ancora molte leggi poco considerate et alcune degne di biasimo, massime intorno agli homicidi.” “Perché vivono ancora lungo tempo, se però la crapula non scorta loro la vita, come molte volte avviene per esser quelli, come molti altri popoli settentrionali, dati per il più al mangiare et al bere soverchiamente, essendo anco appresso di loro l’inebriarsi cosa laudabile et quasi evidente segno di benigna natura, sicome all’incontro la sobrietà è nelle loro conversazioni
Other *relazioni finali* echoed the same sentiments. The rulers also found it difficult to implement their legislation on specific locations, such as the public houses of the city. The lack of enforcement, however, did not result in a place where violence was rampant. The public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty only occasionally experienced low levels of serious and less serious forms of violent acts. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the types of and extent of violence in the public houses of the city in order to give a final element of the reconstruction of the locales.

The Scholarly Debate on the Violence in Public Houses

A common conception of medieval and early modern public houses is that they were locations where violence occurred regularly and perhaps, to a greater extent than in other settings. Scholars of medieval and early modern public houses continue to debate the veracity of the perception of these locales as such. As was shown in Chapter Three, however, the most common legal disputes involving public houses, publicans, and patrons in Cracow dealt with forms of debt. This, of course, does not mean that there was no violence in the locales. Violent episodes could easily occur in the public houses of the city. An often-tense environment where alcohol mixed with a varied clientele, a society preoccupied with honor, individuals playing games, and other competitive situations could easily escalate from friendly banter to verbal or physical violence. Alcohol consumption, as Beat Kümin has concluded, had a disruptive and integrative function for medieval and early modern societies. Debt was also, at times, a factor

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leading to both physical and verbal disputes among the publicans and their clients. The court records and other accounts, however, show that the occurrence of violence in the public houses of Cracow was an exceptional episode and that on a daily basis, the establishments functioned and provided services for the city without violent incidents.

Various scholars have argued that violence was prevalent in the public houses of certain cities during the medieval and early modern periods. B. Ann Tlusty, in *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*, scrutinizes the perception of public houses as dens of sin where nefarious activities, including violent altercations, occurred on a regular basis.\(^5\) According to Tlusty, “The records of the Augsburg court show a total of nine killings that either took place in taverns or followed from tavern visits during the fifteen years (5,478 evenings) covered in my sample. While tavern brawling rarely resulted in a death, however, fights of a less serious nature did occur on a daily basis.”\(^6\) The taverns of Augsburg were locations where an individual’s honor was constantly on display and regularly challenged. In this environment, any words or actions could offend a patron’s honor. Violence was a means for the offended party, mostly men, to defend their honor, and for this reason, the public houses in Augsburg were regularly violent locations.\(^7\)

Other scholars have shown that the amount of crime and violence in public houses in other places was not extensive. Peter Clark, in the seminal *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830*, argues that the “anti-social reputation” of taverns in England is an exaggeration. Clark states: “In many ways the complaints against medieval taverns anticipate those made about alehouses in the Tudor and early Stuart period. But one must not exaggerate

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\(^6\) Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order*, 128-129.

\(^7\) Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order*. 
the anti-social reputation of taverns at this time. Most of the outcry against them was vague and unspecific. Detailed work reveals no strong correlation between taverns and serious crime.”

The exaggeration of crimes and violence is applicable to the situation in Cracow as various moralizing authors emphasized the nefarious activities occurring in these establishments to encourage stricter regulations, but the court records reveal a more peaceful environment, where publicans provided important services to the population on a daily basis without criminal behavior.

The Literature Against Public Houses and Violence

The moralizing authors of the sixteenth century often portrayed public houses as places of constant violence. Relying strictly on these authors to get an accurate representation of the locales proves to be problematic: “Literary renderings of violence raise questions of the dramatic effect that authors intended to elicit and of the audiences’ horizons of expectations.”

Many of these authors wrote to discredit the public houses and to portray them as dens of sin. They wanted to convince the authorities to implement policies that would curtail the activities of the locales and would limit the services provided to the population, especially the provision of alcohol. This does not mean, however, that these texts do not provide insight into various experiences at these establishments. As Richard Kaeuper points out, “Even a brief, initial sampling can reveal patterns of thought, for these texts drew on the continuous experience of daily life, on collective memories and imagination.”

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Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski was a staunch opponent of the public houses in Cracow and the Polish lands. His works criticized public houses for many reasons, including, in his mind, their role as establishments where violence happened on a regular, if not daily, basis. He believed that people spending time in the locales “are being lazy, concerning themselves with nothing good, but only with drunkenness, beggary, and violence”\(^{11}\) Modrzewski believed that the public houses and the activities occurring within were destroying Cracowian and Polish society. He wanted the king and the Sejm to eliminate the violence caused by the patrons of public houses by closing these establishments and limiting the alcohol available to the populace. His portrayal of the locales, therefore, exaggerated any violations to create a negative image of the enterprises to convince the authorities.

Stanislaw of Skarbimierz also portrayed public houses as places where physical and verbal violence occurred on a regular basis. For example, in the previously quoted *Cor Sapiencium ubi Tristicia*, he lamented the fact that students and faculty were spending time in public houses where they risked being involved in violent altercations. He wrote, “Few or almost none live with doctors or masters, but commonly in inns, where they brawl with women, publicans or their guests, with which the rector and the masters are troubled.”\(^{12}\) Stanislaw, as rector of the university, wanted to ensure the success of his students and faculty and this meant keeping them from frequenting places, such as public houses, that would distract them from their


\(^{12}\) “Pauci vel quasi nulli cohabitant doctoribus vel magistris, sed comuniter in hospiciis, ubi rixantur cum mulieribus, pinerinis aut hospitibus suis, ex quibus rector et magistri tribulantur.” Maria Kowalczyk, ed., *Krakowskie Mowy Uniwersyteckie z Pierwszej Połowy XV Wieku [Speeches from the University of Cracow from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century]* (Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolinskich, 1970), 58nr39.
work. The university had statutes that prohibited its members from visiting these establishments and Stanisław tried to enforce those regulations and to discourage others from doing the same.

The papal nuncios believed that tippling in the Polish lands could easily lead to physically and verbally violent episodes as well. In a paragraph about the eating and drinking habits of the Poles, Fulvius Ruggieri claimed that drink often led to quarrels:

They eat so much meat that one Pole will eat for five Italians, that may be because it is very inexpensive, almost costing nothing, and few eat bread, and almost no salad. They add many roots to every dish, more than any other nation, and they use a lot of sugar. They drink a lot at feasts and celebrations, more than even the Germans, but near the glass, quarrels often come between them.13

Other diplomats echoed these sentiments. Jerome Lippomano, a Venetian envoy, in describing the changes brought to the Polish lands by Queen Bona Sforza, explained the still-enduring customs of the Poles and their neighbors, including their potentially violent drinking habits:

“With all these [changes] until now, it is still that if one of the guests does not drink, the host considers it the greatest resentment and rudeness, and in Ruthenia and in other places where this old custom is strictly observed, it sometimes comes to violence, and it happens that they get carried away and draw sabers on the one who does not respond with a glass to his calling.”14 As was evident in Chapter Four, diplomats regularly used public houses throughout Europe and

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14 “Z tem wszystkim dotąd jeszcze jeżeli kto z gości nie pije, poczytuje to gospodarz za największą urazę i niegrzeczność, a na Rusi i w innych stronach, gdzie się ścieśle zachowuje ten dawny zwyczaj, nie raz przychodzi ztàąd do ubijatyki, i zdarza się że się porywają do szabli na tego, któryby nie odpowiedział kieliszkiem na uczynione sobie wezwanie.” Hieronim Kippomano, “Relacja o Polsce z Roku 1575 przez Posła Weneckiego, Hieronima Lippomano,” [“A Report about Poland from 1575 by the Venetian Envoy, Hieronim Lippomano,”] in Relacje Nuncyuszów Apostolskich i Innych Osób o Polsce od Roku 1548 do 1690, ed. Erazm Rykaczewski (Berlin and Poznań: Księgarnia Behra, 1864), 252.
could have made these observations in these establishments. From their accounts, it is clear that the inhabitants of Cracow and the Polish lands took their drinking seriously and the consumption of alcohol could lead to physical and verbal violence.

The Regulation of Violence

The laws regarding violence attempted to curtail the nefarious acts throughout the city. Robert Muchembled argues that: “Every society seeks to control the dangers that might threaten its survival and establishes its own threshold of tolerance for violence. It does this theoretically, through the prevailing values and the laws, and more concretely through the exercise of criminal justice.”\(^{15}\) The Cracowian authorities and the king sought to limit aggression in the city by issuing and enforcing various statutes. As stated in Chapter One, the *Iure Municipali* guided the burgomaster’s council to the appropriate punishment for crimes, but it was up to their discretion to determine the exact reprimand. The *Iure* recommended penalties for verbal abuse (*słowne przewinienie*) of five Grosze and a Szeląg (the third part of a Grosz), for failing to appear in court of forty Grosze, for causing someone to bleed of twenty-five Grosze and a Szeląg, for bruising someone of five Grosze and a Szeląg, and various others.\(^{16}\) Zygmunt I issued a decree on March 3, 1524, which banned all violence in the city. He tasked the city council with preventing violent acts in public and private locations throughout the city, including in taverns.\(^{17}\)

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17 “2. Item quod communitas questa est, multas cedes et violentias in ipsa civitate Cracouensi noctu et inerdiu sepius committe et consules illas dissimulare sed et neque curare, ut Digna animaduersione coercerantur, decreuimus et decernimus presentibus ipsisque consultibus mandamus, ut nullo modo permittant per negligientiam seu connuiciadu nations fierie, sed illas cum consilio et auxilio officij castri nostril Cracouensis puniant, quo pax et tranquillitas ciuium et aliorum hominum hic Cracouie morantium ac aliunde advenientium illibata conseruetur. Quod vero violentias in tabernis patrari solitas attinet, que longe aliter, quam alie violentie, que in alijs edibus priuatis, in quibus nulla diversoria publica existent, pensande sunt, et in quibus aliud ius competit, in illis
On June 7, 1533, the king issued a proclamation aimed at curbing transgressions against the public peace. In 1544, the king reaffirmed the city’s authority to process and enforce laws regarding numerous crimes, including “woundings, homicide, etc.” The subsequent Jagiellonian king, Zygmunt II August, reaffirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the city on December 10, 1548, including their rights to enforce legislation against violent behavior. Rulers and city officials continued to issue similar legislation after the reign of the last Jagiellonian king. The most serious violent acts resulted in a punishment of proscription from the city or the death penalty. Lesser crimes warranted incarceration, a fine, or both. The need for the authorities to repeatedly issue legislation regarding crimes, such as violent acts, suggests that the regulations were not effective in curbing these actions. It is also important to note that most of the decrees did not link the taverns or drinking with the violence occurring in the city. The majority of legislation regarding public houses dealt with economic matters, such as the price of beer.

The guilds also tried to enforce regulations to prevent their members from getting into violent altercations in the public houses. For example, on March 18, 1552, the needler’s guild prohibited its members from using “disgraceful and insulting words neither in public, or in the
tavern, or in any other location.” While on October 16, 1561, the fisherman’s guild issued a stipulation that its members could not carry weapons, such as an axe, to the public houses under penalty of two Florins. This was an effort to minimize any altercation from escalating into an armed conflict. These were not, however, attempts to prevent their members from frequenting the public houses.

Physical Violence

There were various forms of violence occurring in the public houses of Cracow, including physical and verbal. “Violence can be defined as the application of physical force against an individual or a group of people. It can be organized according to standard—mostly legal—categories, such as murder, rape, assault, robbery.” Violence, however, is not strictly physical and can involve verbal abuse, emotional injuries, trauma, and defamation. Warren C. Brown states that “words of course also continued to serve as weapons. In an early modern world characterized by the vastly expanded production and distribution of written texts through printing, vicarious verbal violence of the kind we have seen in some of our medieval texts could only expand in its scope and potential viciousness.” The Cracowian legal system acknowledged both verbally and physically violent crimes.

The physical altercations were more apparent as they often resulted in various injuries affecting different parts of the body. According to Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk:

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Though violence usually has a primary political and social significance, the site at which it is made palpable is typically the individual human body. Bodies are subjected to different forms and degrees of harmful force in order to define them, restrain them, coerce or manipulate their actions. They are trained, armed and honed into weapons of domination, assertiveness, or resistance. They are displayed, hidden, disguised, or represented to bear witness to the power and importance of violence.\textsuperscript{26}

The head, face, mouth, eyes, hands, shoulders, and various other body parts were commonly the location of violent strikes. More forceful assaults broke the skin and caused the victim to bleed to varying degrees of profuseness. Such strikes could also lead to broken bones and maiming. In a society where most individuals used their bodies to make a living, broken bones and maiming could have lasting consequences on one’s future.

Physical violence took multiple forms, including hair pulling, slapping, punching, cutting, striking with weapons, raping, and killing. Teeth and hair were often casualties of such episodes and garments, windows, and furniture were often collateral damage. The appearance of blood meant that affairs were more serious, and the authorities often noted this in the litigation records. The violence usually involved two parties, but could easily escalate to include accomplices, bystanders, or family members. The severity of the violent episodes helped the authorities to determine an appropriate punishment for the incidents.

Many of the cases involving physical forms of violence escalated from verbal violence. An argument occasionally led to verbal insults, which could then lead to a physical altercation. Other episodes were the result of little verbal provocation. This was the case, “on the Sunday after All Saints’ Day,” in 1537, in the public house of Stanisław Ziemianin.\textsuperscript{27} Barbara Vacca of Mielec

\textsuperscript{26} Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk, ‘A Great Effusion of Blood’, 10.
\textsuperscript{27} ‘Concludimus. Christi nomine invocato solum Deum prae oculis habentes, pro tribunuali sedentes, in causa honestae Barbarae mulieris Vacca de Myelyecz, actoris ab una et discreturn ac nobilem Alexium Orzechowski,
was drinking wine peacefully and quietly when eventually, the noble [and student], Alexius Orzechowski, arriving at the public house with his accomplices, shouted that he thinks he saw cattle in the public house. [Barbara], in her restraint against the contention of Alexius, provoked him, and he hit Barbara in the face, ultimately, with his accomplices, unjustly and excessively inflicting two wounds, one on her head, the other, through her tunic and dress, on the shoulder, and he did such things with insufficient clarity and provocation.  

Barbara needed medical attention from a surgeon because of the severity of the attack. On Monday, November 20, 1537, the rector of the university ruled in favor of Barbara and imposed multiple penalties on Alexius: “for the dress, half a Kopa [30 Grosze], and also for procuring the surgeon, who attended the wounds, and half a Marc to Barbara for her injuries, and one Florin to the university.” Alexius, likely with the goading of his companions, was clearly looking for a confrontation and Barbara’s restrained reaction provoked him to turn his verbal assault into physical aggression.

Some patrons seem to have actively sought out confrontations in public houses. The court cases involving these individuals often provide a comment regarding the frequency of involvement in such altercations. For example, in the lawsuit of the previously cited university studentem de bursa Jerusalem, reum ab altera partibus, occasione mutilacionis, damnorum colopendii, de iuris peritorum consensus et assensu ex his, quae in huiusmodi causa vidimus et testium attestacionibus cognovimus et intelleximus, dicimus, decernimus et pronunciamus: anno praesenti, die dominico post Omnium Santorum circa quartam noctis in celario domini Stanislaei Zyemyanim.” Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis, ed. Stanislaus Estreicher, vol. 2, Continens Annos 1536-1580 (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Cracoviensis, 1909), 9.  

28 “Barbaram praedictam vinum bibisse pacifice et quiete, demum adveniente nobili Alexio Orzechowski cum suis complicibus ad praefatum celarium clamasse, se pecora vidisse et habere in celario, in continenti eundem Alexium contenciones provocasse, Barbaram maxillasse, ac demum duo vulnera, unum in capite, alium per tunicam et colopendium in scapulis cum suis complicibus intulisse ac vulnerasse inique et injuste, sibique talia facere minime licuisse neque licere” Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis, vol. 2, 9.

court case regarding Nicolaus Morsky, it stated that Nicolaus “is accustomed to making certain violations, visiting taverns, playing games, inflicting violence on people, and other things.”30 The rector of the university struggled to curb Nicolaus’ actions, Nicolaus ignored the regulations of the city and the university, and he caused problems, including physical violence, on multiple occasions.

Serious episodes of violence could lead to the death of the victim. The authorities often punished homicide (homicidium) with execution or banishment from the city. Although it is impossible to determine the exact age of the perpetrators from the court records, as Robert Muchembled has pointed out, “it was young men aged between twenty and twenty-nine who were most likely to commit murder” because “the principal target in the case of murder is the young male, impatiently waiting to reach maturity and accede to the advantages of adult life, who transgresses the most sacred codes by killing one of his peer group.”31 In the 483 court cases of the Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg) during the extant years (1385-1422) from the Jagiellonian Dynasty involving crimes which warranted proscription from the city or execution, 114 were homicides and five (4.4%) of those involved women.32 Of those 114 cases, four explicitly involved publicans or the public houses (3.5%). Grievances involving individuals affiliated with the university likewise show a low rate of homicides in

30 “Anno, quo supra, et die, qua immediate supra. Paulus, sapiencia, retulit, se citasse Honorablem dnum Nicolaum Swatek, nacione de Mazovia, arcium autem baccalarium, ex officio dni rectoris, qui dnius rector mandavit, ne ulterior querela contra eundem veniat, prout frequencior veniebat, quod idem quasdam insolencias de nocte solet facere, tabernas visitando, ludos faciendo, violencias hominibus inferendo et alia, que statum suum non concernunt, faciendo, quod ab huiusmodi desistat. Insuper et mandavit, ut in hospicio peramplius non moretur, sed aut ad bursam aut ad scolam moraturus se conferat. Et nichilominus dnius rector propter pestem hinc ad Carnisprivium sibi hospicium inhabitandi honestum indulsit.” Władysław Wisłocki, ed., Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis Studii Cracoviensis inde ab anno 1469 (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum Craoviensis, 1893), 417.
public houses. In 110 cases involving publicans, only two (1.8%) were homicides.\footnote{Wisłocki, \textit{Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis; Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2.} The hearings do not specify if the homicides were premeditated or not.

Most of the court cases in the \textit{Book of Proscriptions} regarding homicide are simple entries, which do not elaborate on the circumstances of the homicidal episode. For example, in 1386, “Nicolaus Veistinskrugil was proscribed on account of the homicide of Stanislaw, a publican, on Corpus Christi [June 21].”\footnote{“Nicolaus Veistinskrugil proscriptus racione homicidii ex parte Stanislai pincerne die Sacri Corporis Christi [21 VI].” Wyrozumska, \textit{Księga Proskrypcji}, 82.} Or in 1393, “on the fifth day [Thursday] of the Blessed Martyrs John and Paul [June 26], Nicolaus of Lubocza, a taverner, for the reason of having perpetrated a homicide on Stanislaw Dolanga.”\footnote{“Item feria Vta die beatorum Johannis et Pauli martirum [26 VI] Nicolaus tabernator de Lubocza racione homicidii in Stanislaio Dolanga perpetrati.” Wyrozumska, \textit{Księga Proskrypcji}, 95.} This creates difficulty in assessing the conditions of the fatal conflict.

The university court records reveal more details on the circumstances of the deadly encounters, often with eyewitness accounts. For instance, on May 30, 1577, the rector charged Valentine Stanislaw of Pułtusk and Mathias Stanisław Sassin, students at the university, with leaving a trail of death, destruction, and injury. According to the rector,

\begin{quote}
Because you, Valentine Stanislaw of Pułtusk and Mathias Stanisław Sassin, of the Diocese Siedlce, mutually rose up against each other with weapons in hand during the attack in the tavern, on which occasion you caused wounds and death, furthermore, you invaded the cemetery and school of the Church of Saint Anna with the noise of weapons and loud tumult, you did such things without clarity and against your oaths, while you were incorporated into the university, having received that benefit, you hurt the good reputation of the university with so very many crimes, we decree this judgement with our definitive means.\footnote{“Ad instanciam instigatoris officii contra Valentimum Stanislai de Pultusko et Mathiam Stanislai Sassin, studiosos universitatis Cracoviensis, rector talem tulit sentenciam: In nomine domini Amen. Pro tribunal sedentes et solum Deum prae oculis habentes, ex iis, quae in causa vidimus, audivimus et ex citatorum propria recognicione percepimus, hanc sentenciam definitivam ferimus. Quia vos Valentinus Stanislai de Pultusko et Mathias Stanislaw Szassin, dioecesis Ianoviesis, in taberna invasione violenta et armata manu contra se mutuo insurrexistis, occasionemque dedistis vulnerum et necis, adhaec coemiterium et scholam ecclesiae sanctae Annae armorum strepitu et clamoroso tumult invasistis, talia vobis facere non licuisse et contra iuramentum, dum incorporaremini} \end{quote}
Mathias and Valentine received unknown jail sentences for their crimes.\textsuperscript{37}

Many violent crimes led to bloodshed and the victims were sure to reveal this information to the authorities because this increased the severity of the transgression. Numerous examples speak to these circumstances, such as happened in 1501/1502 in an altercation outside a public house involving an ordained cleric, John Wolborita or John of Wolbórz, the perpetrator, and Barbara Gniastkowa, the victim. The confrontation occurred in the presence of multiple witnesses and the rector used their testimony to determine his judgement. On April 7, Barbara, “a citizen of Cracow, presented the case against John of Wolbórz, a scholar from Saint Stephen in Cracow, that he hit her in the face causing an effusion of blood from her mouth and nose.”\textsuperscript{38} John denied the accusation and argued the opposite stating, “that he was an ordained cleric, and that she hit and struck him in the face first.”\textsuperscript{39} The rector delayed judgement on the case to allow the witnesses to testify on the matter.\textsuperscript{40} On April 12, “Gregory, a malter and witness, testified and later recognized that while remaining near Gniastkowa on Cobbler’s Street, John of Wolbórz approached and hence harassing Barbara Gniastkowa, said to her: ‘Why do you attack me?’, and hit her, at the time she hunched over, with a continuous effusion of blood on her face, he suddenly fled from the house.”\textsuperscript{41} The rector, however, rejected this testimony because Gregory
was a servant of Barbara and therefore, determined to be biased against John. Laurence Semek, “another witness, recognized, having taken an oath, that with Barbara hunched down, John of Wolbórz, entering the common room, hit her in the face, and he saw this act, as he clarified, and that witness remained on Vistula Street.” On April 14, two additional witnesses came forward and testified on the dispute. John, a taxpayer and witness from Sławkowska Street, “said that he had heard from John, an associate, but did not see, that John had attacked Barbara Gniastkowa, while he exited, fleeing from the common room, he said, ‘Behold! Consider still, I said, that I will avenge this.’ And while entering into the common room, John saw the aforementioned Barbara remaining hunched over with her face on the ground, and blood flowing from her nose onto the earth.” The final witness, John of Chrosna, a student at the University, “testified that he saw the aforementioned Barbara prior to John of Wolbórz hitting her, and afterwards, John of Wolbórz hit Barbara in the face.” After hearing the testimonies, the rector determined the guilt of John of Wolbórz and “for the strike which John inflicted on Barbara Gniastkowa, let him make deprecatory satisfaction according to the Statutes of the University and give her one Marc, next, the decision of the rector adjudged that he should pay to the University a penalty of ten

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“Quid me impedes?”, percussit eam, cum se inclinasset, in faciemsque ad effusionem sanguinis, et fugit repente de domo” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia aliae Universitatis, 441.

42 “Reiectus est testis primus, Gregorius, quia exceptum est contra eum, quod sit servus prefate Barbare Gniastkowa.” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia aliae Universitatis, 441.


45 “Finaliter adveniente Ioanne de Crosna, student Universitatis olim intitulato obligatoque sub prestito iuramento, deposuit, quod vidit dictam Barbaram prius percussisse Ioannem de Volborz, postea Ioannes de Volborz percussit Barbaram in faciem.” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia aliae Universitatis, 442.
Grosze, one Ferton for visiting a tavern, and six Grosze for his disobedience.”

John accepted the ruling of the rector, paid the fines, and avoided further litigation. Various other cases also noted when a strike caused the victim to bleed, often referring to the episode as an effusion of blood. This evidence allowed the authorities to assess the gravity of the violent episodes in order to provide a justified ruling and punishment on the matter.

Hair pulling was a common aspect of physical violence. Both men and women resorted to pulling the hair of either sex. A remarkable university court case from 1530 exemplifies the use of hair in conflicts. On Wednesday, November 9, 1530, the rector of the university heard the case involving an extensive episode of hairpulling:

At the behest of the distinguished Lazarus, Zachary of Kołaki, a student in the school of Saint Stephen, versus the distinguished Blasius of Bobry, a student continuing in the same place, for the incident of hair pulling and of the cruel dragging by the hair in the inn and tavern, for which the said Blasius was summoned, in the end, with Blasius receiving an enormous injury in the form of a large and almost lethal wound on his head caused by a spear. The aforementioned Blasius, with soul and mind, is legitimately contesting the lawsuit that at that time, he met with his companion, Peter of Września, a bachelor’s student continuing in the same school. Nevertheless, he denied that he had pulled the hair of said Zachary and dragged him by the hair, having inflicted that wound on him, but recalled that Jacob, a brewer, who was then with said Blasius and the aforementioned bachelor’s student, Września, did it. He, Jacob, a layman, having inflicted a wound on Zachary, soon fled and has not reappeared since. Also, the aforementioned bachelor’s student, with soul and mind, legitimately contesting the lawsuit denied that he inflicted the wound on said Zachary, although he knew with certainty that the aforementioned Jacob, a layman, struck and wounded Zachary. To which the aforementioned Zachary said in reply that Blasius and the bachelor’s student cannot be immune from causing the injury since they were with their companion and accomplice, namely said Jacob, the layman, who, as they asserted, did it.

46 “Rector sentenciam tulit in hunc modum: quo ad percussionem, quam inflixit Ioannes Barbare Gniastkowa, faciat ei satisfactionem deprecatoriam iuxta Statutum Universitatis detque ei unam marcam, secundum arbitrium rectoris adudicatam, Universitati vero pro pena x grossos et pro eo, quod visitavit tabernam, i fertonem, pro contumacia, quia non posuit prius intentam penam, det 6 grossos. Has penas rectori reponat usque ad primam iuris scilicet ad feriam terciam proximam, mercam vero parti lese det pro festo s. Adalberti, sub pena fertonis.” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 442.

47 “Die Mercurii nona Novembris. Ad proposicionem Discreti Lazari Zacharie de Kolaki, studentis in schola s. Sthephani, contra et adversus Discretum Blasium de Bobry, studentem ibidem degentem, occasione capillacionis et crudelis per crines tractionis in hospicio et taberna, ad quam fuisset per dictum Blasium evocatus, et tandem exinde subsecutam enormem lesionem per wlnus magnum et letale fere sibi in caput framea per dictum Blasium, tunc
Zachary continued to question how Blasius and Peter could freely allow their friend to inflict such an enormous injury, especially “because Zachary, in no way, was obnoxious to said Jacob, the layman, and since he never knew him, he had no reason to strike and wound him so extremely.” The litigation continued at some length with the plaintiff and defendants making additional accusations and defenses. The rector realized that he could not make a final ruling on the matter until he had heard the testimony of Jacob and decided to delay his final judgement. “Nevertheless, the lord rector decreed a punishment against all three of them, namely, Peter, the bachelor’s student, Zachary, and Blasius, according to the Statutes of the University for punishments, specifically, for visiting a tavern, playing games, and causing an injury with weapons, for which they will appear in court in two weeks.” The rector ordered the group to pay ten Marcs and to “live in peace until the final resolution of the matter.” On Tuesday,
December 20, the rector reaffirmed the lasting peace between Zachary and Blasius. Peter had appeared in previous litigation, but in no lawsuits after this incident. The final outcome of the trial is unknown because it is unclear what happened to Jacob as he does not appear in any other extant court cases.

Other litigation records show that hairpulling was not restricted to the student population of the city. In 1479, “John, a publican, coming [to court], accused Stanisław Wijewiorka of violent hairpulling and an attack with a knife/sword.” In 1481-1482, George, a publican, accused Greg of wounding him and pulling his hair. The litigants resolved the disagreement outside of the court. The hair of the victim was an easy target for wrongdoers and this was part of the judge’s considerations when assessing the violence of the episode.

The perpetrators of violent acts employed different objects while committing physical violence. Actors, at times, reached for objects within reach and used stones, sticks, cups, etc. as weapons. For example, during the previously mentioned violent episode on Thursday, November 19, 1545, students outside the inn of Sophia Lorinczowa near the Jerusalem Dormitory threw stones into the public house causing multiple injuries, including the loss of teeth, bloody teeth, and a bleeding headwound. The inn had been occupied with many important officials, such as members of the bishop of Cracow’s household, a secretary of the monarchy, nobles, and more than twenty others. On February 7, 1442, Schymon, a taverner, and a certain Drohobiczky bore

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52 Wislocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 753.
53 Wislocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, #3049, #3060, #3062, #3063.
54 “Johannis caupo veniens inculpavit Stanislaum Wijewiorka per capillatione violenter et cum incilicione gladii.” Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 1.
55 Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 63.
56 “Iovis XIX novembris, quae fuit ipso die sanctae Elizabeth. Nobilis domini Ioannis Piotrowski, reverendi domini Iacobi Uchanski, canonici Cracoviensis et sacrae Maiestatis Regiae secretarii, familiaris, ad proposicionem verbaem, occasione dehonestacionis invasionisque domus seu hospicii dominae Lorinczova a bursa Hierusalem in proximo distante (sic) et per hoc iacturae ex impetus tumultuosus vesperi feria quarta die sancti Martini praeterito factae, ubi cum familiaribus reverendissimi domini Cracoviensis episcopi moderni electi quiete, honeste et laudabiler collacionaliter sedentibus videlicet domino Podlodowski, Andrea item Ciessielski, Paulo Lassowski,
witness to an assault with a stick by Peter on Andreas and his wife, Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{57} In 1489, Jacob of Krzeszowice used a pitcher to strike Haza Dreslerin. The pitcher broke as a result of the strike and Jacob owed three-and-one-half Florins for the vessel, in addition to fines regarding the conflict.\textsuperscript{58} Rising tension and anger led to physical altercations in which individuals attacked others or defended themselves by whatever means necessary and this often involved grabbing objects that were found lying around.

Knives, swords, clubs, and even spears appeared in disputes involving publicans and public houses. Individuals who could afford such weapons regularly carried them with themselves. “Until the disarmament of the ordinary population, which was slowly and painfully achieved on princely orders from the seventeenth century, the lowest male shared this ethic and wielded a knife or a sword with ease and without much respect for human life.”\textsuperscript{59} Only

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\textsuperscript{57} “Drohobiczky, \Schymon tabernator fideiusserunt Petrum statuere feria secunda coram advocato pro eo, quod percussit Andream baculo et vulneravit eum et Elizabeth consors predicti Petru promisit intercedere fideiussores ab omni impedimento, quod si non statuerint predictum Petru super terminum prenominatum, extunc promiserunt intercedere pro penis coram advocato.” Mieczyslaw Niwinski, Krystyna Jelonek-\L{}itewka and Aleksander \L{}itewka, eds., \textit{Księga Wójtowska Krakowska 1442-1443: Registrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis 1442-1443: Ze Zbiorów Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie} (Kraków: Secesja, 1995), #1488.

\textsuperscript{58} Rkps 88, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis} (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 274.

individuals with full privileges of the city, members of the guilds, and certain inhabitants, however, were supposed to use the weapons intended for the defense of the city. The unsheathing of a knife or a sword escalated the situation and could lead to a surrender by the other party, a violent strike by the perpetrator, or even the death of the victim. The city fined the unsheathing of weapons with as much as half a Grzywny and the confiscation of the weapon. In the previously mentioned university court case involving Rupert of Francia and Sebastian Vieloglowski from 1537, Sebastian’s unsheathing and use of a sword or knife led to enormous wounds on Rupert’s hand and head. On Monday, August 30, 1540, a Laurence unsheathed his knife or sword and assaulted J[ohn], a senior cantor, and Albert, a student, without provocation. Laurence struck Albert on the head with the knife/sword in the School of the Holy Spirit, causing him to fall on the ground, and then, Laurence walked to the tavern of Blazek, where he struck J[ohn] in the face with the weapon causing bruising and the loss of hair. In the aforementioned case involving Zachary of Kołaki, Blasius of Bobry, and Peter of Września, Zachary, claiming self-defense, used a spear to wound Blasius. Wounds, especially those caused by individuals wielding weaponry, could easily become infected and lead to illness and the death of the victim.

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60 Pachoński, Dawne Mury Floriańskie, 33.
62 “Die Lunae XXX mensis augusti. Personaliiter constituti discreti J. Cantor et Albertus studens, ambo a ludo sancti Spiritus, gravi in querela suam violentam et enormem laesionem coram domino rectore proposuerunt contra Laurencium etc. ab eadem schola studentem, qui ausu temerario evaginando gladio intrantibus illis scholam pacifice, primum Alberto student dedit gladio alapam per caput, quod supinus in terram cecidit, et postea cantorem, quem non bonum, immo wafrum, Mazovitam, synkophantam et id genus verbis inhonestis in taberna apud Blazek, propinatorem cervisiae, secum bibens appellavit, eundemque cantorem petentem iam scholas gracia quietis et requiendi, ubi praenominatus Laurencius cum suis complicibus ex nulla causa merita cantorem tanquam seniorem chorius gladio, pugnis, capellacionibus illum verberavit, [et] vulnera livida illius faciei infligit ita, quod vix ad cameram suam evasit, postea fores seu hostium ad cameram praedicti cantoris frugere voluit, volens satisfacere suae propriae voluntati. Ubi rector scholae vix tantam mitigavit et composuit insolenciam. Quam enormem laesionem et violentam invasionem tempore nocturne ipsius camerae existimat sibi actor ad triginta florenos.” Acta Rectoralia Almæ Universitatis, vol. 2, 196.
63 “Zacharias ulciscendo suam per capillos tractionem, framea eundem Blasium wnerauerat, nasum fere sibi amputando, quod prefatus Zacharias nescit se facturum, et si fecit, sicut non confitetur, extunc animo et intencione se defendendi et non ipsum Blasium ledendi illud fecit.” Wisłocki, Acta rectoralia almei Universitatis, 751.
Verbal Violence

Verbal violence in the public houses of Cracow took various forms, including threats, insults, and slander. Threats included promises of future physical violence, revenge, murder, amongst various others. The verbal attacks often involved name-calling. This encompassed referring to people as individuals who were not adequate for good company, or denouncing them as prostitutes and whores, or calling them dogs, among many other insults. Slander included accusations of sodomy, treason, adultery, and various other allegations. Many of the incidents of verbal violence led to infamia or infamy or the defamation of the victim. In a society preoccupied with one’s honor, this would cause serious problems. The Malter’s, Brewer’s, and Taverner’s Guilds punished their members one stone of wax for insulting a journeyman, six stones of wax for offending a master or his wife, and an additional two stones of wax if the words used were deemed to be inappropriate.64

In one instance, on Saturday, March 4, 1536, Lucas Koczimovski had insulted Stanisław Tharnawski during their theology lecture. The insults hurt Stanisław and caused him infamy. Stanisław later responded by “calling him [Lucas] a dog and saying that he knew nothing in front of the tavern and harlots.”65 The rector of the university could not determine the guilt or innocence of the litigants and asked for both sides to provide witnesses. After subsequent court

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64 Marcin Gadocha, “Cech Piwowarów, Karczmarzy i Słodowników Krakowskich w XVI i XVII Wieku,” in Miasta Polskie w Średniowieczu i Czasach Nowożytnych, ed. Paweł Goldyn (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2008), 266.

65 “Die Saturni iv Marcii a. Dni 1536. Venerabilis duns Stanislaus Tharnawksi, arcium baccalarius, peciit Discretum Lucam Koczymovski, studentem in bursa philosophorum manentem, ex eo, quod eum verbis inhonestis de lectorio Theologorum ii feria affecerit et infamaverit, que obtulit se lacius in scriptis daturum, in presencia prefati Luce, studentis, ad hoc de mandato domini cittati, premissa negantis et reconvenientis eundem dnum Stanislauum Tharnawksi ex eo, quod ipse eum verbis multis inhonestis et injurioris, quin eciam variis affecerit, dum lectionem legebat, appelans eum canem et nihil aliud novisse, preter tabernas et scorta, dicto Stanislao Tharnawsky narrate, prout narratur, negante. Et dominus ad peticionem parciim prefixit eis terminum ad probandum suas intenciones hinc ad actavam. Presentibus Honorabilii dno Laurencio de Volborz, Alexio Orzechowski, preposito in Smigrod, et me Ioanne, servo Universitatis.” Wislocki, Acta rectoralia alae Universitatis, 825-826.
dates, on Tuesday, April 4, the rector determined that both parties were at fault and ordered them
to reconcile and not start any future disputes under the penalty of ten Marc̆es. Lucas and
Stanisław do appear in later court cases, thus suggesting that there were no further verbal
alternations between them.

Verbal violence often resulted in claims of infamy (infamia), that is, accusations that the
words spoken or actions taken or not taken caused harm to one’s honor. Many scholars have
discussed the importance of honor to European society in the Middle Ages and early modern
period. Mark D. Meyerson argues, “Since honour was a social value, the possession of which
depended on the community’s evaluation of the conduct of an individual and his or her family,
acts that entailed a challenge to or a defence of honour had a meaning recognized and understood
by the entire community.” Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail describe honor as
“something to be owned, guarded, and sometimes lost or stolen.” Robert Muchembled
elaborates on this idea:

In a world where every individual – and not just the nobles – had his own, honour was
directly linked to sex, status and age. It also expressed collective values, in contrast to the
cultures of personal guilt of a later date. Everyone was closely supervised by their fellows
and lost status in the eyes of all if they did not behave in the correct way. The law of
shame ruled this world, where the regard of others mattered much more than self-regard.
This resulted in a very dense network of norms and requirements, characteristic of a
society of proximity and reciprocal surveillance. If dishonour fell on an individual, it
contaminated all the members of his ‘clan’, his close family, relatives, neighbours,

66 See also #3365, #3366, #3369, #3370. “Eodem die [Die Martis iiiij Aprilis]. Honorabilium dorum baccalariorum
Francisci de Bodzączin et Stanislai Tharnawski in causa iniuriarum verbalium et scriptarum invectivarumque in
scriptis factarum, dominus auditis hinc inde propositis et responsis ipsarum parcium, volens eisdem precludere viam
ad tales diffusiones et ne essent scandalum studium et alijs talia faciendo, decreuit et mandavit, quatenus predicti
bacc. Invicem reconciliarentur et ne deinceps alter alterum verbis vel in scriptis, nec per se nec per submissas
personas, infamet, lacesset et prouocet, sub pena 10 marcarum, officio domini aut Vniuersitati irremissibiliter
aplicandarum et per partem ream soluendarum. Presentibus dno dre Stanislao de Louicz, Laurencio de Volborz,
procuratore, et me Valentino, seruo Vniuersitatis.” Wislocki, Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis, 829-830.
Valencia,” in ‘A Great Effusion of Blood’: Interpreting Medieval Violence, eds. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery,
and Oren Falk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 58.
68 Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, eds. Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe
friends – even the whole of a village or urban district if an aggressor from another parish could later boast of having humiliated those of the first.\(^{69}\)

Individuals treated an affront to one’s honor seriously and they, at times, resorted to violence to rectify the slight. In terms of honor and the public house, B. Ann Tlusty argues, “The tavern provided a public theater for social exchange, in which men were expected to perform” and “honor and status were not static commodities that, once established, became a permanent part of one’s identity. Rather, they were variables that had to be constantly reaffirmed.”\(^{70}\)

Cracowian society during the reign of the Jagiellonian Dynasty also regarded one’s honor as an important aspect of everyday life and as something needing continuous affirmation and defense. This is apparent from the many court records referring to infamia or fama. Fenster and Smail argue: “Though there was fama about debts, quittances, and the ownership of goods and property, the fama or renown of people—plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses—was probably of greatest interest to jurists and users of the courts alike.”\(^{71}\) Verbal violence allowed an aggrieved party to try to recover lost honor from defamation. For example, on Wednesday, July 6, 1552, the prudent Simon, a publican of wine, suffered an “occasion of remarkable infamy” caused by Simon Gliwicz because Simon Gliwicz denied that he owed Simon the publican for four barrels of wine.\(^{72}\) While in 1476, Laurence, a publican, defamed John Lipinijrzkij because Laurence denied that he owed him three Florins.\(^{73}\) The words spoken by the disagreeing parties and a denial or accusation of debt could cause damage to one’s reputation and lead to defamation. An outstanding debt could also easily lead to the infamy of one or both parties. In the eyes of

\(^{70}\) Tlusty, Bacchus and Civic Order, 122-123.
\(^{71}\) Fenster and Smail, Fama, 3.
\(^{73}\) Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 40.
Cracowian society, the debtor was dishonorable because he or she did not have the means to satisfy their obligations. The creditor could look dishonorable because he or she could not collect arrears and therefore, not properly manage their public house.

The public houses of Cracow could also be the settings for a physically violent challenge or a physically violent defense of honor. A physical response helped the injured party to regain honor in the eyes of the community and that meant that physical violence was a common response to any slight to one’s honor. In 1481-1482, a certain Peter slapped Jacob, a publican, in a dispute over infamy.74 While in 1483-1484, John Przepijorka stole from Lorek, a publican, resulting in the defamation of Lorek. Lorek responded by “brutally wounding” and “striking in the shoulder” John for his actions.75 In 1489, Philip and Andreas, a taverner, testified that Stanisław, a miller, had caused defamation to the accusers because of a “slap with the whole hand.”76

Not all individuals, however, used verbal or physical violence to recover lost honor and instead, many used the legal system to prosecute such transgressions. The punishment for such offenses not only often involved a monetary penalty, but also shame for the offender for their violation of the law. “Many victims of humble origins were less interested in ensuring that the offender was punished than in restoring their own position in the eyes of their fellow inhabitants. They appealed to the judges to assure the restoration of their honour by transferring the infamy onto the accused, who was obliged to humiliate himself in his turn.”77 In an effort to avoid such

74 Rkp85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 50.
75 Rkp86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 20-21.
76 “Philipus apud Andream tabernatorem jure feria V tam ante prandium Stanislao pistori pro maxillatione palma tota. 2 pro infamia jurat suprema dissidus est.” Rkp88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 241.
chastisement and increasing legal costs, the two parties, at times, abandoned the legal proceedings and settled matters privately and therefore, avoided the litigation of the courts.

Litigants in other types of violent cases also tried to resolve the matters privately to avoid the courts. This allowed the parties to save face and to avoid the costs of legal proceedings. For instance, in 1479-1481, a taverner, resolved a dispute involving a strike and an injury with an unknown accuser for six Grosze outside of court.⁷⁸ In 1489, Jacob, a publican, agreed to settle a dispute privately with Nikel Szijkuwijk over the wounds Nikel caused to Jacob.⁷⁹ While in 1490, Matis, a taverner, and Stanisław agreed to resolve their violent dispute for half a Marc and thirteen Grosze.⁸⁰

Women and Violence

Women were both perpetrators and victims of verbally and physically violent acts in Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty. “On the part of a woman, however, violence was universally perceived as abnormal and deeply wicked. It revealed the dark, dangerous and frightening side of femininity as it was imagined by the men of that period.”⁸¹ The various court records speak to the rarity of women committing violence, particularly in public houses. Women appeared in ninety-five of the 1,178 (8%) total extant courts cases of the Book of Proscriptions and Complaints. The rate at which women were involved in serious litigation, which warranted proscription from the city or the death penalty during the extant years from the Jagiellonian Dynasty, was thirty-six of 483 (7.5%) total court cases. In the thirty-six proceedings, women

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⁷⁸ “Signator super Komorek taberntorem pro percussione concussione ob spem concordie, si non tenetur ad proximam judicie extunc sub eodem juris et citatione. Detur VI grossos.” Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 364.
⁷⁹ Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 7.
⁸⁰ Rkps 89, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 143.
⁸¹ Muchembled, A History of Violence, 147.
were among the perpetrators in nineteen occasions and/or among the victims in twenty. Of those lawsuits, one woman (2.8%) was among the perpetrators of the serious acts at a public house and women were among the victims in zero instances. The addition of the extant years (1360-1384) of the *Proscriptions and Complaints* prior to the Jagiellonians shows a similar situation. The total number of claims during the twenty-four extant years was 695 and fifty-nine (8.5%) grievances involved women. In the ninety-five lawsuits, women were among the perpetrators in twenty-one suits and/or among the victims in thirty-nine. Of those fifty-nine cases involving women, only six (10.2%) involved publicans. Women were among the perpetrators in five (5.3%) hearings and among the victims once (1.1%). Women, however, were more likely to be involved in less serious crimes.

The court cases of the *Księgi Wójtowskie* show that women were slightly more involved in cases that did not warrant proscription from the city or the death penalty. These included crimes of debt, theft, prostitution, adultery, and physical and verbal aggression. They were both victims and perpetrators in this litigation. Between 1442-1443, the burgomaster and his council dealt with 2,239 lawsuits. Of those 2,239 proceedings, 1,253 (56%) involved women in some capacity. Of the 1,253 litigations involving women, 171 (13.6%) dealt with matters of violence—physical and verbal. In the thirty-two court cases involving publicans, twenty-two (68.8%) involved women and one or 4.5% of those hearings was a physically violent crime. In the incident, a certain Peter struck and wounded Elizabeth and her husband, Andreas. The twenty-two cases involving women and the public houses also only included claims of *infamia* on two occasions (9.1%) and this suggests there was not a gendered element amongst this

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population and crime type, as other scholars have suggested. The details of the thirty-two cases involving publicans from 1442 to 1443 are available in Appendix E. In the thirty court hearings involving publicans from the years 1476 to 1479, twelve or 40% of those proceedings involved women. Between 1479-1481, fifty-five suits concerned publicans and of those, seventeen or 30.9% implicated women. In the ensuing years, women were mentioned in over 20% of litigation involving publicans: in 1481-1482, twenty-one of fifty-five (38.2%) lawsuits included women, in 1483-1484, thirty-three of 120 (27.5%) claims, in 1486-1487, twenty-one of forty-nine (42.9%), in 1489, twenty-seven of 101 (26.7%), and in 1490, twelve of fifty (24%).

There are multiple examples of the lesser violations committed by women. On November 11, 1578, in the eyes of the rector, Dorothea Pudlowska, caused an extraordinary scene. According to the litigation:

Dorothea Pudlowska, a maid-servant of Doctor Jacob Molitor, from the failings of rapacity, of drunkenness, of shamelessness, of brawling, of uproar, which was caused by her drunkenness and shame, which she did without decency both in the building and outside, particularly indeed, because bursting out from the public house intoxicated, she attacked the distinguished lord Stanisław Radosicze, licentiate of law, colleague of the jurists of law, from behind and hit him with a club on a public street with the greatest scandal of all things.
The incident brought injury and ignominy to Jacob, to his rank, and to the entire university because this happened in view and earshot of the members of the university.\textsuperscript{89} The rector banished Dorothea from all association with the university and decreed that if Doctor Molitor or anyone else retained her as a maid-servant, they would incur a ten Marc penalty.\textsuperscript{90} Molitor disregarded the ruling of the rector and continued to employ Dorothea.\textsuperscript{91} The rector fined Molitor the ten Marc and threatened to double the fine if Molitor did not comply.\textsuperscript{92} Molitor again ignored the ruling of the rector, for which he incurred the doubled fine and a threat of banishment from the university.\textsuperscript{93} He took offense to this threat and used offensive language to defend himself, thus resulting in additional penalties.\textsuperscript{94} The costs of the litigation and the fines took a toll on Doctor Molitor’s finances as he was unable to satisfy his debt of four Florins to Caspar Marzecki, citizen and taverner of Cracow, for beer in 1580.\textsuperscript{95} The fate of Dorothea is unknown as she does not appear in subsequent extant court records.

Women were also perpetrators and victims of less extraordinary violent crimes. In 1483-1484, Hedwig Ruska accused Mathias, a publican, for a strike and wounding.\textsuperscript{96} Mathias did not appear in court and the judge rescheduled for a later date. Zofia, a cook for Nete Gleijveijczin, accused Nicolaus, a publican, for a strike and wound. The outcome of the litigation is

\textsuperscript{89} “Iniuriaque et ignominia totius universitatis omniumque ordinum eius, cum in hoc uno membro totum corpus universitatis laesum sit et externis quidvis audendi contra magistros et doctors per eam exemplum datum sit, quodque citata iussu rectoris ad haec criminal audienda non comparuerit.” \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 308.
\textsuperscript{90} “Decreto rectoris de domo iurisconsulatorum et ab omnibus locis, iuribus, privilegiis et libertate universitatis perpetuo exclusa; poena in doctorem Molitorem, si eam retinuerit [et] receptaverit (et in omnes alios) decem marcarum decretal, locies quocies decretum hoc contemperit, quam poenam si negliget, ascensu ad beneficia privabitur. Praesentibus bedellis. Stanislaus Lutheczki, notarius universitatis, signavit.” \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 308.
\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 314-315.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 314-315.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 328.
\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 329.
\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis}, vol. 2, 330.
\textsuperscript{96} Rkps 86, \textit{Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska)}, 188.
unknown. Kaczka Jorjepaschkin posted bail for Thomas, a publican, for wounding a Zofia on the hand and striking her on the head. Thomas later paid four Grosze for his offense. Women were essential to the success of the public houses and because of their vested interests, they took part in the violence occurring in the public houses.

Others and Violence

Verbally and physically violent episodes were not limited to two individuals in opposition. In many cases, the conflict quickly engulfed those in the vicinity, especially in a crowded public house. Family members were most commonly involved in altercations because it was imperative for them to protect their interests or risk ruin. Family members helped public houses function successfully and they were usually present at the locale. Friends and colleagues could also become embroiled in the aggression often to thwart or aid in the aggressive behavior. As situations escalated, they could also engulf bystanders who were at the public houses for their intended purposes and not for the violence.

Violence occasionally involved familial units. Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk argue that “familial identity is a powerful component in the enactment, perpetuation, and control of violence.” Robert Muchembled reasons, “To give way before an aggressor, to be beaten or defamed, was dishonourable not only for the one directly concerned, but for all his relatives, who would force him to respond even if he had no wish to.” On numerous occasions, multiple individuals of the same family were involved in perpetrating verbally or physically violent acts or the victims of such actions. Public houses were establishments that usually required the labor

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97 Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 254.
98 Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 254.
99 Meyerson, Thiery, and Falk, ‘A Great Effusion of Blood’, 8
of an entire family to maintain and operate successfully, meaning that the families spent most hours within the building’s confines or nearby. In the event of a violent episode, the family was on hand to protect their interests or to be the victims of the violent acts. As a result, they were also often called to the courts as witnesses to such events.

Multiple court records show family members becoming embroiled in violent incidents as victims. Wives, running daily operations of the business or helping their husbands, most commonly were victims alongside their partners. This was the case on Tuesday, July 11, 1486, on Potter’s Street:

John of Lauben, a student in Cracow, cited by a servant of the University at the claim of Stanislaw Brudnius, publican of beer on Potter’s Street, today. The lord rector, having heard the accusations and responses about certain injuries to Stanislaw and abuse of his wife by John, the student, for the harm done for a debt which John had for beer, namely, one Ferton to Stanislaw, decrees that the one Ferton must be given under the penalty of excommunication henceforth to the sixth day after the next [Saint] Margareth’s [Day], and for the injuries, infamy, dishonesty, and abuses, he, the party having been found guilty and in opposition, must pay six Marcs to those parties.¹⁰¹

An apparent dispute over a debt between these individuals resulted in John striking the publican and his wife. Many of the court cases depict the women protecting their shared interests and being injured in the ensuing violent episodes. In other instances, children and relatives also became engulfed in the aggression as both victims and perpetrators.

A violent or potentially violent situation could also bring about the intervention of a third party, including friends, colleagues, and bystanders. The intervention of bystanders often served

to pacify the situation or to encourage its escalation. On August 5, 1577, the intervention of a third party in an effort to pacify a situation in the house and tavern of John Zielenski actually escalated the problem resulting in verbal and physical injuries to bystanders. John Zielenski, citizen and taverner of Cracow, wanted Martin Wiskiczki, a bachelor’s student, to leave his tavern because Martin had caused a tumult with other students. Martin was unwilling to go peacefully, and so John looked to his brewer Jacob and other companions to help remove Martin, thus resulting in an armed struggle with injured bystanders.102 Multiple students, as seen in many of the previous lawsuits, frequented public houses with their companions and these individuals often encouraged or joined in verbally or physically violent episodes.

Verbal and physical violence occurred among individuals of the same profession or related professions. This may have been due to a struggle for economic preeminence. Economic pressure to succeed created tense situations between rival publicans, which could escalate into

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102 “Studiosi scholae beatae Virginis et Ioannes Zyelenski. Anno eodem die quinta augusti. In causa inter Ioannem Zielski, civem et tabernatorem Cracoviensem, actorem, ex una et Martinum Wiskicy (sic), arciun liberalium baccalaureum, conventum, ex altera partibus. Ex his, quae in prae senti causa vidimus, audimus et ipsarummet parcum confessione reprehendimus, decernimus: Martinum Wiskiczki baccalaureum dedisse occasionem tumulti in domo et taberna eiusdem Ioannis Zyelenski, die 28 iunii excitati; ideoque poena carceris ipsi pro arbitrio nostro sustinenda, postquam convaluerit, ipsum punimus. Andream vero, Ioannem et Stanislaum Siradiensem, Andream Vidaviensem, studiosos universitatis Cracoviensis, qui huic tumultui in taberna eadem intererant, secundum statutum universitatis de non frequentandis tabernis in poena duodenorum grossorum, per singulos intra octavam reponendorum, condemnamus et eodem ad spectabilem et famatum dominum proconsulem Cracoviensem remittimus pro administranda ipsius iusticia ex praefato Ioanne Zyelenski cum braseatore ipsius Iacobo et ipsorum complicibus. Quia ille contra officium et debitum boni oeconomi tumultum istum facile conquieturum, vel per ipsummet sopiendum, exasperavit et vehementer auxit, cum obserata domo, petentibus studiosis, ut abire permitterentur et non obtinentibus, primum in baccalaureum ebrium ex levi causa et verbali tantum contencione cum uxore ipsius saevire incepit, eodem in scambio sedentis colaphos inferendos et humi prostratam genus tumendo, pugnis verberando, crinibus, auribus violenter trahendo, veste ipsius—camisella ex hatlaszo—poenitus lacerata et colmiria induiis disserta. Similiter Andream Siradiensen violenter prostratum in terram crinibus per totum atrium sine Misericordia trahendo, Ioanni vero Siradiensi pacifice ad mensam stantibus bis colaphos inferendo. Reliquis studiosios supplicantibus, ut a saeviendo desisteret, eis autem in angulos fugientibus, ne a braseatore praedicto dictricibus fustibus et lignis ipsos impugnantis—laederentur, pro ab ipso braseatore Andreas Widaviensis laesus est in capite et manu. Nec prius reseratum ostium studiosis socios petentibus, quam ad libitum esset in baccalaureum et ipsos saevitum. Reserat tandem ostio, dum egredierentur, unus ipsorum, Martinus Cracoviensis, ex fenestra eiusdem domus superiori, supra ingressum sita, lapide enormiter vulneratus in capite, periculose decumbit, cui vel parentibus ipsius reservatur salva accio pro vivo vel defuncto.” Acta Rectoralia Almæ Universitatis, vol. 2, 303.
verbal and physical altercations. Serious episodes of violence within the publican profession, however, were rare. In the fifty-five court cases of the extant years of the Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (1360-1422) involving publicans, only five (9%) involved intra-publican violence.103 For example, on February 25, 1385, a certain Peter, a publican, wounded Peter Sleppinczagil, a fellow publican.104 The brewers, in comparison, committed intra-profession violence at a similar rate of 11% or two of twenty-two cases.105

Publicans likewise committed few minor crimes against each other. In the Księgi Wójtowskie between 1442-1443, the burgomaster and his council dealt with thirty-two claims involving publicans and none of those hearings explicitly dealt with violations between publicans.106 In the thirty court cases involving publicans from the years 1476 to 1479, none of those proceedings were explicitly between publicans.107 In the next Księga from 1479-1481, fifty-five grievances involved publicans and zero dealt with intra-publican conflicts.108 The subsequent extant Księgi show a similar pattern: in 1481-1482, zero of fifty-five cases encompassed disputes between publicans, in 1483-1484, one of 120 (.83%) lawsuits, in 1486-1487, zero of forty-nine, in 1489, three of 101 (2.97%), and in 1490, one of fifty (2%).109 The lawsuit in 1483-1484, involved the defendant, John, a publican, and the accuser, Thomas, a publican, over an unknown dispute.110 In 1489, the first lawsuit was a violent dispute between

103 Wyrozumska, Księga Proskrypcji.
104 "Quidam Petrus pincerna proscriptus ex parte cuiusdam Petri Sleppinczagil pincerne pro vulnere campfir sabbato ante Reminiscere." Wyrozumska, Księga Proskrypcji, 73.
105 Wyrozumska, Księga Proskrypcji.
106 Niwinski, Jelonek-Litewka, and Litewka, Księga Wójtowska Krakowska.
107 Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).
108 Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).
109 Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 87, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 89, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).
110 Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 13.
Stanisław Widra, a publican, and John, a publican; and the second, a dispute over six Florins and twenty Grosze for wine between Martin Gwijdiczen, a publican, and Benedict, a publican.¹¹¹ Martin and Benedict resolved their quarrel privately and a second hearing confirmed this.¹¹² In 1490, Woyteck, a publican of wine, and Kasper, a publican of wine, disagreed over arrears of ten Grosze and one Ferton.¹¹³ The low frequency of violence between publicans suggests that these individuals rarely confronted each other violently for any number of reasons.

The Extent of Violence

Despite the various episodes of verbal and physical violence mentioned above, these were not regular events, but were exceptional occurrences. The public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty were not locations of extraordinary amounts of violence. They provided important services to the populace on a regular basis without any aggression. Various sources speak to the extent of violent episodes in these establishments. In the Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg), during the extant years from the Jagiellonian Dynasty, there were 483 court cases involving crimes which warranted proscription from the city or execution, including physical violence, homicide, rape, verbal violence, theft, and various others. Of the 483 court cases, only twenty (4.14%) involved publicans. Of the twenty cases involving publicans, seventeen (85%) involved some form of violence: four homicides and thirteen instances of physical violence. Publicans were sole perpetrators of the violence in seven of the twenty court cases and sole victims in twelve cases, while both a perpetrator and a victim in one case. Women were involved in one of the twenty cases concerning publicans (5%). The year

¹¹¹ Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 31-32.
¹¹² Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 33.
¹¹³ Rkps 89, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska), 11.
1385 saw the most publicans appear in the records with seven cases—six for physical violence and one for adultery. The graphs in Appendix F enumerate the records from the extant years during the Jagiellonian Era.\textsuperscript{114}

The addition of the extant years of the \textit{Book of Proscriptions and Complaints} prior to the Jagiellonians shows a similar situation. The total number of cases during the twenty-four extant years between 1360 and 1384 was 695. Of the 695 court cases, the number of lawsuits involving publicans during this period was thirty-five (5\%). Of the thirty-five proceedings involving publicans, thirty-three (94.3\%) involved some form of violence: fourteen homicides, eighteen instances of physical violence, and one occurrence of verbal violence. Publicans were sole perpetrators of the violence in twenty of the thirty-three grievances and sole victims in ten litigations, while both a perpetrator and a victim in three cases. Women were involved in five of the thirty-five suits concerning publicans (14.3\%). The year 1377 saw the most publicans appear in the records with four cases—all for physical violence. The graphs in Appendix F enumerate the records.\textsuperscript{115}

Most of the court cases explicitly involving publicans do not provide an extensive description of the events meriting proscription from the city or the death penalty. A typical entry states the date of the action, the perpetrator, the crime, and the victim—as previously noted for instances of homicide. For example, in 1393, Nicolaus, a taverner, murdered Stanisław Dolanga and the litigation stated: “Also on the fifth day of the Saints John and Paul the Martyr [26 VI] Nicolaus the taverner of Lubocza for the reason of homicide on Stanislao Dolanga.”\textsuperscript{116} Such terse records make it difficult to discern the circumstances of the altercations and to determine if

\textsuperscript{114} Wyrozumska, \textit{Księga Proskrypcji}.
\textsuperscript{115} Wyrozumska, \textit{Księga Proskrypcji}.
there was more violence during a confrontation. There are, however, a few cases that provide better contextualization of the situation. In 1385, a Peter Pyskindorf “caused much violence” and as a result, the authorities proscribed him from the city:

Noting that Peter Pyskindorf was prohibited from the city, from the next feast of Saint Martin [11 XI] for an entire year, on account of the following causes, namely: that he caused much violence in the city, about which the lords were lenient to him on account of his friends. In truth, he caused violence to the vice-burgomaster at the end. Furthermore, at night, he caused great violence in front of the house of Nicolaus Dambraw on Nicolaus’s sons Becherer and Steyntuch, having taken out his sword, he attacked those siting at a table near a barrel of wine. Likewise, at a different time of the night, he struck the publican Goczonis, because he would not serve him wine. The lords restore all things to memory and make the aforementioned prohibition on the sixth day after the next Saint Gallus day.117

Pyskindorf seems to have been intoxicated and looking to acquire more alcohol. When those in possession of wine refused to provide the alcohol to him, he became belligerent and attacked them and the bystanders nearby. This included the assault of a publican because he refused to serve Pyskindorf.

The Księgi Wójtowskie likewise show a low rate of violence among the publicans of the city during the Jagiellonian Dynasty. Between 1442-1443, the burgomaster and his council dealt with 2,239 lawsuits regarded as less serious violations of the legal codes. Of those 2,239 cases, 313 (13.98%) dealt with matters of violence—physical and verbal. From the 2,239 total proceedings, thirty-two (1.4%) claims involved publicans and three or 9.4% of those hearings were matters of violent crimes: two verbal and one physical.118 This represents .96% of the total


118 Niwinski, Jelonek-Litewka, and Litewka, Księga Wójtowska Krakowska.
violent crimes in the city during these years. In the thirty court cases involving publicans from
the years 1476 to 1479, one or 3.3% of those proceedings involved violent acts.\footnote{Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).} Between
1479-1481, fifty-five grievances involved publicans and of those, three or 5.45% dealt with
violence.\footnote{Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).} In subsequent years, the pattern continued: in 1481-1482, six of fifty-five (10.9%)
cases involved violence, in 1483-1484, twenty-one of 120 (17.5%) litigations, in 1486-1487,
three of forty-nine (6.1%), in 1489, sixteen of 101 (15.8%), and in 1490, seven of fifty (14%).\footnote{Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 87, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 89, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).} The tables below enumerate the types of crimes explicitly involving publicans and public houses.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1442-1443</th>
<th>1476-1479</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Violence</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Debt</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
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<table>
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<th>Years</th>
<th>1483-1484</th>
<th>1486-1487</th>
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<th>1490</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Violence</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal Violence</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
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<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>101</td>
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\footnote{Rkps 83, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).}
\footnote{Rkps 84, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).}
\footnote{Rkps 85, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 86, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 87, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 88, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska); Rkps 89, Regestrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis (Księga Wójtowska Krakowska).}
The *Acta Rectoralia* reaffirm that the public houses of Cracow were not exceptionally violent establishments. In the court records covering the years 1469 to 1537, there were 3,380 total cases. Of the total cases, only eighty-three (2.5%) explicitly dealt with public houses and publicans. Of those court cases, only seven cases involved physical violence (8.4%), five verbal violence (6%), and one homicide (1.2%), while fifty-eight dealt with debt (69.9%).\(^{122}\) In the litigation from 1536 to 1580, there were 658 total cases. Of the 658 total cases, only twenty-seven (4.1%) were matters concerning public houses and publicans; and only eight of those lawsuits dealt with physical violence (29.6%), one with verbal violence (3.7%), and one with homicide (3.7%), while five dealt with debt (18.5%).\(^{123}\) The table below illustrates the types of violations explicitly involving publicans and public houses of the *Acta Rectoralia*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>1469-1537</th>
<th>1536-1580</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Crime Types</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Violence</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Violence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequenting Taverns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

The fifth element of the reconstruction of the public houses is the analysis of the types and extent of violence occurring therein. Scholars of public houses in Europe during the medieval and early modern periods continue to debate this topic and this chapter helps to bring the public houses of Cracow into the discussion. The available sources for the city show that the

\(^{122}\) Wisłocki, *Acta rectoralia almae Universitatis*.

\(^{123}\) *Acta Rectoralia Almae Universitatis*, vol. 2.
public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty were not locations of exceptional violence. The collections of court records and the writings of the contemporary intellectuals prove that these establishments functioned peacefully on a daily basis and provided the many aforementioned services to the population of the city. Individuals from all socioeconomic groups could visit the public houses to use them for the amenities they provided without the fear of being embroiled in a verbally or physically violent altercation. The establishments, however, did experience exceptional episodes of aggression, but this can be said for any other location in the city. The extraordinary occurrences of violence included verbal and physical disputes, which at their most serious, resulted in homicide and at their least serious, resulted in name calling. The physical violence could lead to bloodshed, hairpulling, and the use of weapons, while the verbal violence included threats, insults, slander, and defamation. The altercations could also entangle partners, family members, friends, and bystanders. The moralizing authors of the Jagiellonian Era exploited these extraordinary occurrences to further their agenda of curtailing such establishments and alcohol consumption. The kings and city officials occasionally responded to calls to curb verbal and physical violence in the city, but this legislation rarely addressed the public houses or alcohol, and it often was ineffective. The most prevalent problem plaguing these establishments, and most of Cracowian and Polish society, was the widespread debt affecting both the publicans and the patrons. Physical and verbal violence would not have been the most pressing concern for the publicans and patrons of the public houses and the authorities of Cracow.
Conclusions

The public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty functioned as important locations for the inhabitants, visitors, and rulers of the city. The public houses of the city were the locales, such as inns, taverns, and alehouses, that sold alcohol at a publicly accessible site. Many establishments, however, provided additional important services to the people of the city beyond purveying alcohol, including offering victuals and lodging, selling supplies, renting out equipment and animals, and acting as a place to receive correspondence. This made them integral to the vitality of the conurbation. The public houses were also intimately tied to the political, economic, religious, cultural, academic, and social developments occurring within the city under both the Piast Dynasty and the Jagiellonian Dynasty and such changes directly as well as indirectly influenced the success of the establishments. The locales, the publicans who maintained them, and the patrons, however, were not passive actors during these events, but instead, they played multiple roles. The history of the conurbation, the public houses, the publicans, the patrons, and the types and extent of violence occurring at the locales provide the essential elements for qualitatively and quantitatively reconstructing the inns, taverns, and alehouses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty—a task which previous studies have failed to do.

This dissertation demonstrates that the public houses of Cracow played various roles during the city’s transformation from a vital economic, political, and religious nexus, to a principal seat of power, and into one of the most important urban centers during the Golden Age of the Polish Lands. Cracow became the focus of significant economic, political, and religious developments for the earliest historical Piast rulers, and these aspects influenced the importance of the public houses in the settlement. Many individuals traveling for economic, political, and
religious purposes could not satisfy all their needs and would seek the various amenities offered by such locales. The presence of the Piast dukes, later kings, in their residence on Wawel Hill attracted numerous individuals, including their administrators, religious officials, foreign and domestic emissaries, soldiers, and various others. The rulers could not quarter everyone and those without accommodations sought amenities elsewhere. The presence of the rulers also attracted the clergy and the elite. The Polish Church would become one of the largest landholders in the Polish lands and among its possessions were public houses. The elite likewise saw owning the establishments as a valuable source of revenue. Having members of Cracowian and Polish upper socioeconomic groups within the city created a demand for goods, which artisans and merchants sought to fulfill. The artisans and merchants similarly utilized the locales for various purposes.

Casimir I the Restorer employed Cracow as “a principal seat of royal power” and subsequent rulers followed his precedent. Their decisions to favor Cracow encouraged economic, political, religious, academic, and cultural developments and this attracted migrants and visitors to the city. Their relatively peaceful reigns encouraged population growth in the area around Wawel Hill. The growth of the city and the influence of the rulers stimulated building projects that needed laborers associated with the construction of new edifices, such as stonemasonry, bricklaying, carpentry, and many others. Additional tradesmen, such as potters, blacksmiths, tailors, tanners, etc. helped support the construction projects and everyday life throughout the area. The rulers also supported the Polish Church and this encouraged additional growth in the city. The many groups moving to and through Cracow required various services, and the public houses could satisfy many of these needs and desires.
The decision of Duke Bolesław V the Chaste in 1257 to grant a foundation charter to Cracow had lasting effects on the city and the public houses therein. The decree shifted the center of the city away from Wawel Hill towards the north and established a large market square, around which the city would grow. As the concentration of inhabitants shifted away from Wawel Hill, the publicans followed their clientele base and gradually established public houses throughout the new grid laid out by the privileges. Eventually, the public houses were located on nearly every road within the walls with a concentration along the royal route and near the gates in the north. The foundation charter also adopted Magdeburg law as the basic legal code of the conurbation, but it added elements of Roman, Saxon, and canon law to the statutes to create a legal system unique to Cracow. Among this legal structure were statutes that affected the public houses, the publicans, and the patrons. This included laws against physical violence, verbal violence, theft, etc. that legislated for the public weal. The edict also placed the public houses under the jurisdiction of the burgomaster (wójt) and his council. The legal proceedings of the burgomaster compose the Advocatalia Cracoviensia or the Księgi Wójtowskie Krakowskie and these records are particularly useful in assessing the situations occurring in the public houses. The city council supported the activities of the burgomaster and one of its functions was to prevent the falsification of weights and measures, which publicans were known to do on occasion. The burgomaster and the city council also saw public houses as a source of income for the city beyond taxation and they would establish, purchase, and inherit locales, including the city-owned alehouse, the Piwnica Świdnicka. The precedent created by the location charter would influence subsequent Piast rulers and would continue under the Jagiellonian dynasts.

The reigns of Władysław I the Elbow-high and his son, Casimir III the Great, established the city as the preferred residence of the final Piast dynasts, the location for regal celebrations,
such as coronations, and the necropolis for the rulers. This attracted more people to the city for any number of occasions, which boosted the clientele base of the public houses. Multitudes of visitors entered the city for Władysław’s coronation and for his funeral and they often sought the amenities of the locales during the events. Casimir held large celebrations on numerous occasions and ensured that the crowds visiting the city had adequate accommodations, often in the public houses. He also established the university, which would attract an additional clientele group to the public houses. The rulers wanted the city to reflect their accomplishments and ambitions and they implemented policies to increase its prestige. The public houses of the city would be one of the beneficiaries of these changes.

The public houses of Cracow flourished under the rulership of the Jagiellonian kings. The decision of the dynasts to use Cracow as one of their preferred residences meant that the city continued as a vital center of the Polish lands and this ensured that there was a large, varied, and reliable clientele base for the locales. The presence of the ruling families attracted their retinues, administrators, religious officials, foreign and domestic emissaries, soldiers, nobles, artisans, artists, intellectuals, merchants, and many others. These various socioeconomic groups frequented the establishments for any number of reasons. The dynasts, for example, supported the work of intellectuals, such as Ioannes Dantiscus, Korybut Koszyrski, Andrzej Krzycki, Mikołaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, and several others, and these individuals formed a group dedicated to bacchanalia in the city—the Guzzlers and Gobblers. The members of this group employed the inns, taverns, and alehouses as the location of their activities, the place fueling their ambitions, and the settings for some of their works. The Jagiellonians similarly supported the university and this encouraged the growth of the institution, which resulted in more students and faculty. The students and faculty were both regular customers at the public houses of the
city, despite restrictions to do so. The Jagiellonians also employed Cracow as the place of coronations, burials, and many other celebrations. Such momentous occasions brought crowds to the city to view the spectacles, especially along the royal route, and this was a boon to the public houses. Publicans, as shown by the dissertation, favored locations, like along the royal route, where they could easily attract potential customers. The kings periodically summoned the Sejm to Cracow and this likewise resulted in an influx of clients for the inns, taverns, and alehouses.

The relative stability created by the dynasty encouraged the population of the conurbation to grow to about 30,000 inhabitants by the second half of the sixteenth century and this added to the publicans’ clientele base. The success of the public houses within the city walls encouraged the ruling authorities to implement new taxation measures on the establishments in an effort to generate revenue for themselves. The public houses were intimately tied to the history of Cracow during the Piast and Jagiellonian Dynasties and they played various roles in the changes happening therein—a relationship that Polish historiography has not previously adequately considered.

This dissertation likewise shows that public houses of Cracow were located throughout the city on nearly every road. The locales were not restricted to given neighborhoods and streets or forced to function beyond the city walls, as some Polish scholars have suggested. This meant that each area of the city could rely on the services of a public house. The establishments, however, were rarely on the main square, other than the city-owned Piwnica Świdnicka, because the costs of this area were prohibitive to the publicans. The public houses were also concentrated in the northern part of the city and along the royal route as this ensured the highest volume of potential customers would pass by the locales. The prevalence of inns, taverns, and alehouses
within the city walls of Cracow ensured that the population received services necessary for everyday life therein.

The most basic amenity that the public houses of the city provided were alcoholic drinks. This was the common feature of all such establishments be it an inn, tavern, alehouse, warehouse, or cellar. The publicans most commonly served beer, but wine, vodka, and mead were also available in many locales. All socioeconomic ranks of Cracowian society consumed beer in large quantities. Some publicans brewed beer on their own premises, while others purchased locally produced beer or imported from beyond the city. There were many varieties of beer available to the consumers, including white beer, light beer, cheap beer, dark beer, thick beer, wheat beer, pilsner, and lager. Wheat beer was the preferred type of beer for the patrons of the public houses of Cracow and received praise from many contemporary doctors and authors. Wine was also available to all patrons at the locales, but this was less common because Polish viticulture did not produce large quantities of the alcohol and the supply needed to come from other places. Wine arrived in Cracow from all parts of the wine-growing regions of Europe with a majority arriving from Hungary. By the sixteenth century, vodka started to become more popular among the inhabitants and the publicans began distilling and serving the drink in their establishments. The court records and engineering accounts show that vodka was available in Cracow earlier than scholars have suggested. Mead and melomel were the most expensive of the alcoholic beverages served at the public houses and therefore, were the least common. The various options for consumption ensured that customers could choose and enjoy their preferred beverage.

The public houses often offered a variety of food and lodging options in addition to the sale of alcohol. The food usually depended on what was available seasonally and on meals that
could be cooked in a hearth and would not easily spoil. Publicans with plots of land could grow
their own crops and raise their own animals and sell these at their facility, but they paid a tax for
the plot. Those without land purchased foodstuffs directly from farmers, a soltyś, or at the
various markets. Numerous types of breads were the most common food available to consumers,
including bread made from rye, wheat, or sourdough. Porridge made from barley, buckwheat,
hemp seeds, or millet was also prevalent. Fruits, vegetables, and mushrooms were part of the
food offered to patrons, but it depended on their availability. The price of meat and animal
products was not prohibitive, and the publicans would make meals using such goods. Fish
prepared in multiple manners was likewise available and some publicans even gained fishing
rights for themselves.

The availability of lodging depended on the size of the public house. The smallest locales
did not have separate quarters for guests and the patrons would share the same facilities as the
publicans and their families, often in a main hall. Larger establishments had separate chambers,
but these would normally accommodate multiple individuals at the same time. The largest
enterprises could have multiple rooms, but only the wealthiest clients could afford to rent out an
entire space for themselves and multiple customers usually shared these quarters. Welcoming
strangers to one’s home carried various risks, but this was rare, and the additional income of
lodging guests outweighed the problems.

Some public houses could provide additional services, such as selling supplies, renting
out equipment and animals, and acting as a place to receive correspondence. The public house, as
a location integral to the neighborhood, provided supplies, such as wood, stone, vinegar, oil, and
various others. The establishments with plots of land could use some of the space to store
materials and sell them to their clients. Publicans who could afford horses and other animals
hired these out to customers. Many publicans also rented out equipment, like wagons, to their clientele. There was always the risk, however, that the equipment could get damaged or that the animal could get hurt or die and such matters would proceed to litigation. The locales likewise functioned as a reliable site for receiving one’s correspondence. This was particularly true for diplomats who used the public houses as semi-permanent locations where they could complete their objectives and receive letters from their contacts.

The functions of the public houses could also influence the physical edifice. For example, if a publican wished to consolidate the beer making process in one location, they would need sufficient space to accommodate the malting, brewing, and fermenting processes as well as the area to sell the product. Malting required large open areas where the grain could undergo natural processes, like germination. Brewing required many large apparatuses and an open flame. The rooms used for brewing needed to be properly insulated to prevent the structure from catching fire. The fermentation process also required equipment in which the wort could ferment and mature. Storing the finished product in preparation of sales also required room. This meant that not all the public houses could consolidate the entire beer making and selling processes in one location. The public houses that did not produce beer on site would dedicate their space to providing other services.

The success of a public house required the publicans to adhere to the various regulations imposed by the rulers of the city. The public house could not operate during church services on Sunday and holy days and could not sell alcohol for consumption on the premises after the second city-bell tolled in the evening. The city council regularly issued prices for beer to ensure that publicans were not exploiting consumers. The rulers, however, also issued edicts to protect the interest of the Cracowian public houses, such as decrees to reduce competition from locales
in the satellite towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz. The court records reveal that those who committed infractions could face fines, incarceration, physical punishments, banishment, or execution, depending on the severity of the misconduct.

The public houses likewise had to overcome many expenses and market forces in order to be profitable. In the fifteenth century, the king, with the approval of the Sejm, began issuing the periodic Czopowe tax, which imposed duties on alcohol consumed in the city. The city collected the imposts for the king and earned a percentage of the collection. Public houses which did not brew beer on the premises also had to satisfy various financial obligations, including fees to bring water and wood for brewers, in addition to the cost of the beer. Public houses able to brew on the premises paid for the supplies, for the measurement of malt, and for the extra consumption of water required for brewing. The publicans also often needed to pay for the transportation of beer or wine barrels on the city owned wagons. The public houses unable to overcome the many expenses and market forces would face their creditors in the courts in an effort to resolve their debts—the most common problem facing the locales during this epoch.

The most renowned public house in Cracow was the city-owned alehouse named the Piwnica Świdnicka. The alehouse was located in the basement of the city hall next to the dungeon and sold beer imported from Świdnica. The city authorities had a monopoly on the well-regarded beer and the alehouse was the only location in Cracow that purveyed the alcohol. The city leased the public house to a publican and collected a percentage from the sales of alcohol therein. This could be lucrative and result in the city generating as much as 635 Marcs and twenty-six Grosze in a year. The Piwnica gained a reputation as a particularly unruly establishment according to the literary figures, which later Polish scholars have propagated, but the analysis of the court records does not support such claims. It is possible that because of the
central location of the alehouse and because the city owned the locale, any infraction would be amplified and create a reputation for the establishment. Certainly, many different activities occurred at the alehouse, but they do not appear to be particularly nefarious.

The publicans of Cracow were the individuals who worked tirelessly to ensure the success of the public houses despite many daily challenges. A publican was an individual who purveyed alcohol from a publicly accessible location. From 1557 to 1558, there were at least 177 distinct publicans who paid taxes to brew beer in their public houses. Not all publicans, however, paid the tax or operated under the legal requirements and this number is certainly higher. Some publicans tried to defraud the system by not reporting when they brewed beer, falsifying measurements and costs, and watering down or adulterating their products. Those who tried to avoid the regulations often found themselves in legal trouble and appear in the Księgi Wójtowskie, a fundamental source for this study.

The Jewish population of Cracow also maintained and visited public houses. The extent to which, however, is difficult to determine because of the dearth of resources caused by the destruction of Jewish records. Jews had been living in the Polish lands since at least the tenth century and they had played many different roles in Polish and Cracowian society. In Cracow, Jews lived in the area known as the Jewish neighborhood and it is here that they operated public houses. Publicans in the Jewish neighborhood regularly paid the Exactionem Ducillarem Tabernatorum to brew beer, which they sold to their clientele. Jewish publicans also faced the same problems as other publicans, including debt, property disputes, physical and verbal violence, and other matters. The Jewish publicans, like the other purveyors, most commonly faced disputes over their own debts and the arrears of their clients.
The lives of the publicans were challenging and they often had to delicately navigate any number of issues. A statistical analysis of the court records reveals that most common problem facing the publicans was overwhelmingly their own debt and the arrears of their clientele. The patrons and publicans failed to satisfy their obligations on many different goods and services, such as beer, wine, food, cloth, weapons, equipment or animal rental, and many others. Some publicans could bear the burden of significant debt, but most could not and therefore, they sought the arbitration of the court system. The unpaid balances could lead to protracted litigation and even the confiscation of property. Some litigants, however, were able to resolve their disagreements privately and opted out of the court decisions. The individuals who were able to delicately navigate the many challenges maintained successful enterprises that they could pass down to subsequent generations and even expand to include other facilities.

The publicans of the city faced many other issues beyond debt. They had to deal with patrons playing a variety of games, which often led to gambling. The city officials discouraged gambling and at times, forbade individuals from doing so. The city administrators also discouraged prostitutes from frequenting public houses, but some publicans allowed the women to operate from the establishments. The reputation of a publican could likewise depend on the cleanliness of their facility. A clean and welcoming atmosphere encouraged patrons to visit and to recommend the public house to others, while a less hospitable locale drew the ire of its customers. Some patrons, however, overstay their welcome and fell into habitual drunkenness and overconsumption. These issues all challenged the abilities of the publicans to resolve the matters in order to ensure the success of their establishments.

The various socioeconomic groups inhabiting and visiting the city interacted with the public houses of Cracow. Most groups employed the public houses for their intended purposes,
that is, as places for drink, food, lodging, supplies, services, and correspondence. The many
services of the public houses of the city meant that they were vital to the everyday lives of the
common residents. Any number of professions frequented the locales, including poor peasants,
servants, cobbler, goldsmiths, merchants, and many others. Members of this group, however,
were also most likely to commit various violations against the public houses and publicans,
including failing to satisfy a debt, engaging in physically and verbally violent acts, committing
theft, defamining others, and various other infractions, as is evident from the frequency of their
appearance in the legal records. The diverse composition of the patrons ensured that the public
houses of Cracow were well-frequented and active locations.

The clergy maintained a complicated relationship with the public houses of the city. On
numerous occasions, Polish Church officials issued edicts that tried to discourage its members
from frequenting inns, taverns, and alehouses. The decrees proved to be impractical and the
clergy regularly visited the locales and utilized the establishments for various purposes. Some
clergy members could not control their impulses and openly engaged in drunkenness, gambling,
soliciting procurators, and in many other activities that did not properly represent the church. The
Polish Church responded by punishing the infractions and issuing stronger commands. This did
not end the clergy’s relationship with the public houses of Cracow.

Despite its efforts to prohibit the clergy from frequenting the public houses of the city,
the Polish Church owned and operated its own locales. The Polish Church as the largest
landholder in Cracow bought, sold, and inherited inns, taverns, and alehouses throughout the
conurbation and utilized the establishments as a source of revenue. The church normally leased
the properties to publicans and collected a percentage of the revenue generated therein. On some
occasions, however, clergy members sold alcohol from their own premises.
The public houses played an important role in the politics and the infrastructure of diplomatic services throughout medieval and early modern Europe. The establishments in Cracow, because of its role as one of the preferred residences of the Jagiellonian kings, were particularly important in the politics of the kingdom. The kings regularly lodged important emissaries in the locales and often lavishly provided for their needs. The dynasts’ decisions to summon the *Sejm* to the city meant that the city filled with participants, sometimes with large retinues, who would seek the amenities of the public houses. Such occasions were a boon to the publicans and they took advantage of the increased demand. In some instances, the establishments served as locations for important negotiations during the diets, as is evident from the extensive correspondence of the sixteenth-century diplomat Ioannes Dantiscus.

The diplomats participating in the diets and fulfilling their missions regularly used public houses and wrote about their experiences to their contacts. In many cases, the emissaries mentioned the conditions of their lodgings to recommend or discourage the use of a given locale in the future. In some instances, the envoys enjoyed their accommodations and wrote about various positive experiences, such as their tippling and gaming. The diplomats also relied on the establishments’ role as a location to learn about the latest local happenings and to receive their correspondence. On numerous occasions, the envoys mentioned the letters, which they received at an establishment. Extended stays in public houses, however, could place significant financial burdens on the diplomats and this became a theme in many of the epistles.

The students and faculty of the University of Cracow, later-named Jagiellonian University, regularly visited the public houses of the city, despite prohibitions against doing so. Casimir III the Great’s decision to establish a university in Cracow had significant consequences for the Polish lands and for the public houses of the city as the institution attracted an additional
clientele group. The university officials did not want the students and faculty to be distracted by such places and implemented regulations that discouraged its members from frequenting the locales. The rectors, such as Stanislaw of Skarbimierz, frequently wrote to warn the university members from the perceived evils of such places and from the actions occurring therein, which according to them, imperiled their souls and academic success. Their efforts proved futile and the students and faculty regularly visited the establishments. The publicans increased the temptation of visiting the inns, taverns, and alehouses by operating establishments near the university buildings. The locales offered the students and faculty a location where they could vent frustrations, participate in debates, gossip, enjoy the local provisions, and much more. Not all students and faculty, however, could visit the public houses without causing problems, including engaging in violent acts, patronizing prostitutes, gambling, amongst others. The most prevalent problem caused by the members of the university in the public houses was their debts for various amenities, such as drink, food, lodging, and many others.

The different elements of the public houses and the variety of sources allow for an analysis of the types and extent of violence occurring therein and to introduce the evidence for Cracow to the scholarly debate on such topics in Europe during the medieval and early modern periods. Scholars have shown that public houses in certain cities experienced violent acts on a daily basis, while others have shown that violence in the locales was a rare occurrence. The public houses of Cracow experienced a wide variety of physically and verbally violent episodes, but such incidents occurred seldomly. As environments where alcohol mixed with a diverse clientele, a society preoccupied with honor, and individuals engaged in competitive situations, the possibility for aggression was ever-present. The persistent debt problems could also be a factor leading to both physical and verbal disputes among the publicans and their clients.
Physically violent crimes occurring in the public houses of Cracow included homicide, hair pulling, slapping, punching, cutting, striking, and raping. Perpetrators also employed weapons, such as knives/swords, axes, clubs, and spears, and objects within the vicinity, like mugs, stones, and sticks, to commit physically violent acts. Verbal violence included threats, insults, and slander. The verbal and physical aggression could lead to the loss of honor or defamation of the parties implicated. The altercations could also involve multiple participants, including family members, friends, accomplices, and bystanders. Women were often embroiled in less serious violent episodes because they sought to protect their own or shared interests in the public houses. The punishment for such violations included the death penalty or proscription for the most serious acts and a fine and/or incarceration for lesser crimes. The infractions could also lead to other consequences, such as broken bones, maiming, the loss of blood, mental harm, emotional injuries, trauma, and defamation.

The dissertation ultimately determines that the incidents of physical and verbal violence in the public houses of Cracow were rare occurrences. The available sources for the city, particularly extensive court records, show that violence occurred in public houses at a low frequency. The court records reveal that publicans were seldomly involved in matters that needed litigation and when they were, this was predominantly for matters other than violence. The moralizing authors of the city wanted to curtail the activities of the locales, especially the consumption of alcohol, and emphasized any nefarious activity occurring therein in an effort to persuade the rulers of Cracow to institute additional restrictions against the public houses. While the rulers periodically did issue new edicts against physical and verbal violence, the decrees infrequently singled out public houses or alcohol consumption. Instead, most legislation regarding the locales dealt with economic matters. The reality was that violence only
occasionally occurred in the establishments. The various socioeconomic groups frequenting the public houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty could employ the locales for their many services without the fear of being involved in physically and verbally violent acts.
Appendices

Appendix A

Present-day Markers of the Sites of the Taverner’s Guild Towers.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Photographed by Peter Dobek.
W tym miejscu
w ciągu murów
obronnych Krakowa
znajdowała się
baśńta Jastrząb
karczma RZY II
Appendix B

The Admission of Publicans to Municipal Law

Publicans involved in the admissions to municipal law in the *Books of Admissions to Municipal Law in Krakow (Księgi Przyjęć do Prawa Miejskiego w Krakowie).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case #</th>
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<th>Position</th>
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<td>Citizen</td>
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<td>347</td>
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<td>1394</td>
<td>Tabernator</td>
<td>Guarantor</td>
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<tr>
<td>524</td>
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<td>1396</td>
<td>Tabernator</td>
<td>Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>535</td>
<td>Stanislaus Andreas</td>
<td>1396</td>
<td>Tabernator</td>
<td>Guarantor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>552</td>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>1396</td>
<td>Tabernator</td>
<td>Guarantor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1127</td>
<td>Lange Niclos</td>
<td>1400</td>
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<td>Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1161</td>
<td>Petir Briger</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>Tabernator</td>
<td>Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1420</td>
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<td>Citizen</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1425</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4092</td>
<td>Andris Opocz</td>
<td>1428</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4183</td>
<td>Mathias de Szirsin</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>5184</td>
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<td>Lucas Zawisscha de Kalisch</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9413</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Greger Slezier</td>
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<td>Caupo</td>
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</table>
Appendix C

Translation of an Engineering Record

Translation of an engineering record for the Kiezarowski Public House on St. John’s Street from July 5, 1570.³

At the request provided by Martin Przibiło, brewer and citizen of Cracow, the avowed engineers from our office are sent to St. John’s Street to the corner building called the Kiezarowski House for the purpose of the necessary inspection. The engineers, having returned to the office, recount their report of repairs written in the Polish language as follows:

The avowed engineers testify that they came to the edifice known as the Kiezarowski House, managed by Martin Przybyło, a taverner, the building being on St. John’s Street between the home of the heirs of the deceased Bartel Szarfenberg on one side, and the side street, which runs towards St. Florian’s Street, on the other side. We first came to the hall on the ground floor, that is what he showed us, and we saw the necessary construction. Namely: the hall is wooden, with a length of fourteen ells and half a quarter [8.28 m], and with a width of thirteen ells [7.62 m]. In this hall there are five windows, three looking onto the courtyard, and two onto the street. In this hall there are eight beams. The windows are very rotten as are the walls around them, which if replacement is desired, would be unfeasible given the decay. In that hall, all four corners have rotted and decayed, which makes mortaring impractical, and the beams have crumbled in the corners and they also cannot be mortared. In sum, the entire hall is bad and decomposing, and therein the hearth is bad as are the window frames and the window membranes.

We also saw above the stable, that the roof was bad, with holes. Also, in the upstairs and above the hall the roof is holey, with exceptions above the hall, where the new piece of roofing was attached on the side facing the street and a piece facing the backyard. We saw the chamber above the storage with two windows facing the backroom and with a new floor and with daubed beams. On the level above the hallway, the beams have decayed on the ends at the wall so that the joist lies on the struts, on which joist rest crumbling rafters under the attic.

We also saw downstairs in the storage facing the stable a newly supported wall, which would have been badly cracked so much so that a part of the storage would have collapsed had it not been restored.

Also, in the cellar downstairs we saw an unvaulted wall under the hallway and a second masonry wall under the storage. In the cellar, there is a wall which divides the basement, on which wall there is some crumbling damage. The damage is eight ells long and two ells tall.

Also, all the stairs starting from the bottom to the top are very bad as are the gutters.

We also saw the bindings of eight pillars, four of which are in the house and the second four facing the side street, on which are the bindings and the roofs above the hall, brewery, and stable. From these pillars, stand two nearby halls from the hallway and these halls from the side of the brewery are very decrepit, they do not connect to anything. On the bindings above the hall are two regla facing the street, and a second one facing the courtyard or facing the stable of the

house, on which lie rafters together, which, with the roof, are very decayed, so that they no longer connect.
Appendix D

Names of Distinct Taverners

Names of distinct taverners in the *Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Civilem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis Pertinentis Specialiter Infra Descriptorum* from 1557 organized by street.⁴

177 Total distinct taverners

*Sutorum* Total= 30
Blaszkowicz
Brudnij
Buczijnskij
Clericina
Ffijol
Gola
Goly
Kiezar
Kleriyczyna
Kothczijwąsz
Lathosz
Lienarth
Malarsz
Mathis
Mikolaij
Nicolaus
Pawlowski
Plethnijk
Plocziwlosz
Poznanczik
Pthak
Rozek
Rzanczik
Sraga
Stharij
Suchij
Szwieczka
Thrębacz
Urban
Zijmniwoda

---

⁴ Rkps 2368, *Regestrum Consignationis Actualium a Singulis Cocturis Cervisiae ad Exactionem Ducillarem Tabernatorum Civitatis Cracoviensis.*
$Sthephani$ Total= 9
Czarnij
Czop
Kobialka
Paszniik
Pieszek
Puskarsz
Sczepan
Sczesznij
Vadowsky

$Judeorum$ Total= 14
Biskupek
Blazek
Brzezijnskj
Czizowski
Dzięciołowa
Jan
Krzizek
Kowalka
Mucharski
Paszniik
Pawłowska
Pochilij
Vijnarski
Volski

$Slakowiensis$ Total= 20
Bialij
Brozij
Gregier
Jozeph
Kiezar
Kijaczk
Kozłowski
Krzeszijnskj
Kusznjersz
Nadymala
Nijedosthatek
Pthak
Sczirba
Szwarzpijwo
Szwierz
Vągiel
Vincenta
Vincenti
Vindica
Vynarski

Joannis Total= 12
Gędzidlo
Guthowska
Guthowskj
Jurek
Kijaczek
Lęgiecz
Liczko
Pawlowskj
Przibilo
Rząmp
Skazijmlieko
Zelichowskj

Floriani Total= 24
Casprowa
Clericzka
Czaiowskj
Czerna
Czernij
Czolkosz
Długomijsł
Długomijsłowa
Gawron
Gijerciczka
Giercziczkj
Gorijl
Hanus
Kaszuba
Konij
Koziel
Maleska
Mrosz
Solthis
Stipula
Stolarka
Szdun
Wodka
Ząbek

Hospitalis Total= 9
Fřączek
Koziel
Kozielek
Kozieramije
Krowa
Organista
Pacziersz
Pawel
Sijkora

Swidniczensis Total= 8
Bolieskj
Bozek
Kozub
Lęgiecz
Mathis
Rzadkj
Schadek
Zaiączkowski

Nicolai Total= 27
Biskupek
Blazek
Brzezijnski
Curowskj
Czech
Czizowskij
Gomolia
Jagodzijnskj
Jaskolczijna
Jezussek
Kowalka
Krzizek
Kurowskj
Kuszowski
Niepolowski
Pawel
Pawlowska
Pelka
Pochilij
Polikowskj
Rzadki
Rozijcz
Szczęsnij
Sebestian
Sekulijna
Volskj
Zamijlek
Castrensis Total= 11
Bialobrzeski
Cziesla
Dionisius
Mathis
Michal
Misgala
Pawel
Przewoznijk
Sobielischowa
Sobijelijsz
Sthoklosza

Anna Total= 13
Doiszwonek
Ffranth
Golkowska
Golkowski
Introligator
Kanija
Mathisz
Mikolaij
Misgala
Rzeznijk
Stiga
Vaczlaw
Vocziech
Appendix E

A List of Publicans from 1442 to 1443

List of publicans appearing in the *Księga Wójtowska Krakowska (Registrum Domini Advocati Cracoviensis)* from 1442 to 1443.5

<table>
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<th>Case #</th>
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<td>Swenscheg (Vini Pincerna)</td>
<td>Doctori</td>
<td>Debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>4-13-1422</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Swenscheg</td>
<td>Debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>4-13-1422</td>
<td>Swenscheg (Vini Pincerna)</td>
<td>Doctori</td>
<td>Debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>7-6-1442</td>
<td>Jan (Pincerna)</td>
<td>Barbare</td>
<td>Debt</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>7-6-1442</td>
<td>Janowa (Pincerna)</td>
<td>Dorothee</td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>2-13-1443</td>
<td>Anna (Sartoris)</td>
<td>Marconi (Pincerna)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4-19-1442</td>
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<td>Stanislao</td>
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<td>Czarni Pyotr</td>
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<td>Czarni Pyotr</td>
<td>Debt</td>
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<tr>
<td>278</td>
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<td>Schymon</td>
<td>Debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>5-16-1442</td>
<td>Jan (Pincerna)</td>
<td>Schymon</td>
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Appendix F

Statistics on the Extent and Types of Violence

The extent and types of violence in the *Book of Proscriptions and Complaints (Księga Proskrypcji i Skarg)* during the extant years (1385-1422) from the Jagiellonian Dynasty. 6

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